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Chief Editor
A. K. Narain

Editors
Ajay Mitra Shastri
Jai Prakash Singh

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
P.O. HINDU UNIVERSITY
VARANASI-5

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In Memoriam

PROFESSOR RAJ BALI PANDEY

(May 7, 1907–June 6, 1971)

THE JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

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HOMAGE

In the sad demise of Professor Raj Bali Pandey on June 6, 1971, the Indological scholarship suffered an irreparable loss. He was 64 at the time of his passing away and spent nearly forty years in conducting and guiding research in various branches of Indological studies. He worked in various capacities from University Lecturership to Vice-Chancellorship and was closely associated with several organisations which claimed his attention; but his devotion to the cause of learning remained unflinching all through his life. He had a facile pen, an effective speech and a rare capacity to convince, and nobody who happened to come across him could remain unimpressed by his simple but pleasing personality. His work lay mainly in the domain of socio-religious history and epigraphy; but he was intimately connected with the Numismatic Society of India and took keen interest in its various activities. For many years he was a member of the Society and during the critical period in the history of the Society following Dr. A. S. Altekar's passing away he took over as its Chairman which office he held at the time of the Golden Jubilee celebrations in December, 1961. Quite a sizeable number of the members of the Society, some of them holding important positions, consists of his students and admirers. This volume of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India is, therefore, gratefully dedicated to his sacred memory.

EDITORS

SOME MORE INTERESTING COINS FROM PAUNI

Ajay Mitra Shastri

(Pls. II-III)

In Vol. XXXV, pp. 106 ff. of this *Journal* I published a unique potin coin of the Sātavāhana king Śātakarṇi I recovered in course of archaeological excavations at Pauni in the Bhandara District of Maharashtra. These excavations yielded a few more interesting early coins which form the subject of the present paper.[1] These include a silver punch-marked coin, a copper punch-marked coin, five uninscribed cast copper coins and a couple of coins possibly attributable to the Sātavāhanas.

Silver Punch Marked Coin

A single silver punch-marked coin was found in a considerably worn out condition making it rather difficult to identify the devices punched on it definitely. It may be described as follows.

Silver; Rectangular; Size : 1.8 x 1.2 cms.; Weight: 2.30 gms.

Obv. Sun; six-armed symbol or *shaḍara-chakra*; three-peaked hill; bull to right; single human figure. It must be pointed out that in view of the greatly worn out condition of the coin the proposed identification of the devices is purely tentative.

Rev. Traces of an uncertain device.

Pl. II. 11.

The human figure closely resembles the one figuring on John Allan's Class 2, Group III, Variety *g* of silver punch-marked coins. Allan identifies this human figure, which also occurs on some Ujjayini coins, as Kārttikeya. But as has been shown elsewhere,[2] the figure must be identified with Śiva in his brahmachārin aspect as indicated by his attributes, *daṇaḍa* (staff) and *kamaṇḍalu* (water-pot).

Although the grouping of devices on this coin does not agree with that on any silver punch-marked coin published so far, it

1. Coins which are completely worn out and therefore of no interest have been left out of account.
2. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Seminar Papers on Local Coins of Northern India*, ed. A. K Narain, Varanasi, pp. 73—74.

bears a general resemblance to Allan's Class 2. Therefore, this coin, like Allan's Class 2, may be assigned to the Maurya period.[1]

Copper Punch-Marked Coin

Only one copper punch-marked coin was reported and is described below.

Copper; Rectangular with a corner clipped; Size: 1.56 x 1.32 cms.; Weight: 3 gms.

Obv. Solar symbol; six-armed symbol with arrow-heads or umbrellas and taurines or *nandipadas* forming alternative arms; three-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent; elephant with hanging trunk and having a *nandipada* on its back to left; a thick-leaved tree within railing.

Rev. A new variety of Taxila symbol composed of a central boss with a crescent on either side and a conventional fish or double-barbed arrow-head on the remaining two sides.[2]

Pl. III. 1.

1. At my request Dr. P. L. Gupta kindly examined the photographs of the coin. He is of the opinion that the combination of the five symbols as described by me is never possible on any punch—marked coin (his letter dated 15th March, 1974). Though he too finds it difficult to identify the devices on the coins properly and correctly owing to indifferent preservation, yet he thinks it probable that the five symbols impressed on the coin are (1) sun, (2) six—armed symbol, (3) three—arched hill with crescent (crescent off), (4) hare or bull, and (5) tree with leaves. He also hints at the possibility of the third device being a standing figure and the fifth device being caduceus with separate ovals. He states that from the photographs he is unable to attribute the devices properly and suggest the exact variety; but he feels sure that the coin belongs to period V or VI of his classification of the Amaravati hoard of silver punch—marked coins. According to him, the reverse device, though not clear, is probably. This, in his opinion, also points to the same period.
2. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. II. 2, 18; *BMC, AI*, pl. III. 10, 12, 14-15, etc.; *JNSI, IV*, p. 118.

   Dr. P. L. Gupta is in agreement with me as regards the identification of the first three devices on the obverse of this piece. As of the fifth device also, he generally agrees with me in identifying it as tree within railing. However, the fourth device appears to him to be bull with a taurine in its front. And in that case the coin is of a well-known type in silver and copper coins of the same type are found in large number in the smaller Bhir Mound hoard. However, I have carefully examined the coin and am sure regarding my identification of all the devices including the fourth one.

   I am grateful to Dr. Gupta for his comments.

Several hoards of silver punch-marked coins have been reported from the Vidarbha region.[1] But copper punch-marked coins are, extremely rare, only three specimens being known so far. Two of them were discovered during the excavations at Kaundinyapura (Amraoti District),[2] and the third one was acquired at Pauni itself.[3] Thus, this is the fourth copper punch-marked coin to be reported from Vidarbha so far.

The Kauṇḍinyapura coins bear only four symbols while the aforesaid coin from Pauni has six symbols. The present coin, on the other hand, bears five symbols as is generally the case with a vast majority of silver and copper punch-marked coins. Of the obverse marks figured on this coin only the thick-leaved tree was noticed on the Kauṇḍinyapura coins, and this together with the elephant, though with upraised trunk, on the aforesaid Pauni specimen. But on the last-mentioned specie there is seen an umbrella on the back of the elephant which is replaced by a *nandipada* on the present specimen. However, elephant with one or more *nandipadas* on its back is well known as a device occurring on silver punch-marked coins.[4] The solar mark and *shaḍara-chakra* are recognised as the most popular devices on the silver punch-marked coins including those reported from Vidarbha. The three-peaked hill capped by a crescent is also known to figure on a large number of silver punch-marked coins. These three devices also find place on the varieties of copper punch-marked coins published by Allan.[5] But they are not found on the copper punch-marked coins discovered from Vidarbha. And all the five marks noticed on the obverse of the present coin are not known to occur together on any other copper punch-marked coin known so far. Thus, the coin published here constitutes a new variety.

---

1. They have found at Bhandara, Malegaon, Mangrul, Umrer and Nevari. *Vide* B. C. Jain, *Inventory of the Hoards and Finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh*, NNM, No. 5 (Varanasi, 1957), p. 2; *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 91-95; P. L. Gupta, *Bibliography of the Hoards of Punch—marked Coins*, NNM, No. 2 (Varanasi, 1954), pp. 12—13.
2. M. G. Dikshit, *Excavations at Kauṇḍinyapura* (Bombay, 1968), p. 130. Pl. XL. A 2—3.
3. *JNSI*, XXXIII (i), pp. 107—108, Pl. IV. 2.
4. *BMC. AI.* pp. xxvi, xl; 30.
5. *Ibid*, pp. lxxviii—lxxix, 101—116; pl. XII. 10—17, XIII.

The reverse device is also not bereft of interest. As stated above, it closely resembles a variety of the Taxila Mark. But it is not exactly identical with any known variety of the symbol.[1] We, thus, get a new variety of the Taxila Symbol.

As stated above, the present coin weighs 3.00 gms. or about 46.5 grains. As a corner of the coin has been clipped off and as some weight must have been lost in course of circulation, the coin appears to have been originally intended to circulate as an *ardha-kārshāpaṇa* weighing about 40 *rattis*.

As known from a comparative study of a number of hoards of punch-marked coins, the three-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent is typical of the Mauryan and post-Mauryan coins.[3] The coin under reference, which bears this device, may, there fore, be of some help from the point of view of stratigraphy and has actually been taken as a basis for determining the period of the layers concerned.

Uninscribed Cast Copper Coins

I. Elephant and Crescented Hill Type Coins

All told, three coins of this type have been found. They may be described as follows :

1. Copper; Shape: Round with a small projection on one side adhering from the mould; Diameter: 1.3 cms.; Weight: 1.70 gms.

Obv. Elephant with hanging trunk, to left.

Rev. Three-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent.

Pl. III. 2.

2. Copper; Shape : Round with a knob left out at the place wherefrom the molten metal was poured into the mould; Diameter; 1.25 cms.; Weight: 1.7 gms.

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above .

3. Copper ; Shape : Round; Diameter: 1.19 cms. ; Weight : 1.5 gms.

---

1. For varieties of the Taxila mark see E. H. C. Walsh, *Punch—marked Coins from Taxila*, pl. III; Marshall, *Taxila*, III, pl. 233.
2. Dr. Gupta takes it to be a 32-ratti coin.
3. Walsh, *op.cit* p. 84. For the occurrence of this device on some objects of the Mauryan period see *Numismatic Supplement (JASB)*, No XLVII, pp. 61—66.

Obv. As above, but with a protuberance on the back of elephant which may possibly indicate a rider.

Rev. As above.

Pl. III. 3.

The first two coins are exactly identical with Allan's Variety *q* of uninscribed cast copper coins.[1] Cast copper coins of this type have been reported in good numbers from a large number of ancient sites. Among them particular mention may be made of Kannauj,[2] Masaon,[3] Bairant,[4] Bhitari,[5] Hastināpura[6] and Kauśāmbi[7] in Uttar Pradesh, Taxila[8] in Pakistan, Kumrahar[9] representing the ancient site of Pātaliputra in Bihar, and Besnagar,[10] Tripuri[11] and Maheshwar and Navdatoli[12] in Madhya Pradesh. Thus, extant archaeological evidence clearly indicates that coins of this type circulated widely in North India. The discovery of coins of this type in both the seasons of excavations at Pauni shows, for the first time, the prevalence of these coins in the Vidarbha region, which may, in the light of the evidence available so far, be regarded as the southernmost limit of the circulation of the coins of this type.[13] As regards the third coin, it would go with Allan's Variety *p* of uninscribed cast copper

1. *BMC, AI*, pp. lxxvii, 94-97; pls, XI. 24-26, XII. 1-4.
2. Prinsep, *Essays*, I, p. 84, Pl. IV. 8.
3. A. C. L. Carlleyle, *Archaeological Survey Report*, XXII, p. 103.
4. *Ibid*, p, 114.
5. *Ibid.*, I, p. 27.
6. *Ancient India*, No. 10. p. 103, No. 6; pl. LVIII. B. 5.
7. G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, p. 83, Nos. 10—11, Pl. XLVIII. 10—11.
8. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 796—797, Nos 20—23,
9. A. S. Altekar and V. K. Misra, *Report on Excavations at Kumrahar*, 1951-52, pp. 93-97, pl. LXXA. Also cf. *ASI, AR*, 1911—12,
10. *Ibid.*, 1913—14.
11. M. G. Dikshit, *Tripurī—1952*, pp. 125-26; *JNSI*, XVI (I), p. 69, pl. IV. 11.
12. H. D. Sankalia, B. Subbarao and, S. B. Deo, *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli*, p. 71, pl, XIII. 15—20.
13. A few other coins of this type have recently been found in course of surface explorations in Vidarbha and are in the collection of my friend Shri Raghunath Sanghi of Durga Stores, Sitabaldi, Nagpur. In this connection it is interesting to note that this type has not been found at Nevasa which has otherwise yielded quite a good deal of numismatic material.

species[1] if there is really a rider; otherwise it will also have to be classed with Variety *q*.

As regards the period of the circulation of this type of uninscribed cast coins, it is generally agreed that they have to be dated sometime in the third–second century B.C.[2]

The small knob projecting from one point along the edge is interesting and throws light on the technique of manufacturing these coins by casting them in batches in moulds. It may be mentioned in this connection that we have several other instances of a couple of coins joined together by a small band of copper in between them[3] or of a knob left out at the point where the two coins cast in a batch were broken or the place from where the molten metal was poured.[4]

II.A Coin with Ujjain Symbol and Tree in Railing Motif

Copper; Shape: Round; Diameter : 1.46 cms.; Weight: 1 gm.

Obv. Ujjain symbol consisting of simple cross and balls, the lines being oblique, on left; tree in railing on right.

Rev. Traces of symbols beyond recognition.

Note: There is a slight protuberance on the reverse at one point along the fringe which is often found on cast copper coins.

Pl. III. 4.

III. A Coin with Three–peaked Hill and Tree in Railing Motif

Copper; Round; Diameter: 1.61 cms.; Weight: 2.5 gms.

Obv. Three–peaked hill surmounted by a crescent, on left; tree in railing on right.

Rev. Blank.

1. *BMC,AI*, pp. 93—94, Pl. XI. 23.
2. This view is mainly based on their association, on the one hand, with silver punch—marked coins, and with Indo—Scythic copper coins on the other, *Vide BMC, AI*, p. lxxvii. P. L. Gupta avers that these coins were in circulation from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D., but that most likely their manufacture ceased sometime in the first century B. C. *Vide* his *Coins* (India—The Land and People Series, National Book Trust) p. 18.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 18, Pl. II. 31-34; *Report on the Excavations at Kumrahar*, 1951-52, p. 94,
4. H. D. Sankalia and others, *op. cit.*, Pl. CIII; *Report on the Excavations at Kumrahar*, 1951—52, Pl. LxxA. 14, 18.

Note : There is a protuberance at one place along the edge on the reverse, as on the previous coin.

Pl. III. 5.

The devices noticed on Nos. II and III, *viz.*, crescented three-peaked hill, tree in railing and Ujjain symbol, are very commonly found on coins belonging to different series and as such they are of no help in determining their attribution. It may, however, be stated with a fair degree of certainty that, like the Elephant : Hill type coins noticed above, these coins were also in cirulation during the post–Mauryan and pre-Sātavāhana period.

Possible Sātavāhana Coins

Reference may now be made to a couple of coins which seem to belong to the Sātavāhanas on typological considerations. We may now proceed to describe them.

I. A Coin with Eight-spoked wheel Motif

Potin; Irregular square with a corner clipped off ; Length: 1.72 cms.; Breadth : 1.71 cms.; Weight: 2.5 gms.

Obv. Eight–spoked wheel with eight arrow–heads beyond the rim but not exactly radiating from the spokes; traces of other devices or legend beyond recognition.

Rev. Blank.

Pl. III. 6.

In the absence of a legend it is impossible to be sure regarding the issuer of this coin. However, the presence of the eight–spoked wheel with eight arrow–heads or umbrellas along the rim, which also appears, though in a somewhat different form, on the unique potin coin of Sātakarni from Pauni excavations,[1] seems to indicate the possibility that this coin also may have been struck by the same Sātakarni. However, in the absence of some decisive evidence, it remains merely a conjecture.

II. Elephant : Ujjain Symbol Type Coin

Copper; Square : 0.95 x 0.95 cm.; Weight: 0.70 gm.

Obv. Elephant with hanging trunk, to right. Distinct traces of the letter *sa*.

Rev. Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Pl. III. 7.

Though the coin does not furnish the name of the issuing chief, on the basis of typology and fabric it may be assigned to the

1. *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 106 ff ; pl. XII. 1.

Sātavāhanas with a fair degree of certainty. The devices found on these coins, *viz.*, elephant and Ujjain symbol, are quite common on the monetary issues of the Sātavāhanas.

Round potin Sātavāhana coins dating from Gautamīputra Sātakarni to Puḷahāmavi have been found in numbers in Vidarbha. Their usual type is elephant with upraised trunk on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse, and they are invariably round in shape. The coins of the Chanda[1] and Tarhala[2] hoards belong to this type. Our coin would, therefore, appear to be interesting inasmuch as it bears on the obverse elephant with hanging trunk. It is also noteworthy for the square shape.

No definite or even approximate date can be assigned to this coin; for the association of the elephant and the Ujjain symbol and the square shape can be traced to the very beginnings of the dynasty.

While there is little doubt about the attribution of this coin to the Sātavāhanas, in the absence of complete legend, it is not possible to identify the issuer.

1. *JPASB*, 1898, pp. 116—117.
2. *JNSI*, II, PP. 83 ff ; *Studies in Indology*, III, pp. 34—48.

COINS FROM SANKISA

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal

(Pls. I-II)

Dr. B. S. Tiwari of the Department of Geology, Lucknow University (presently Professor at Chandigarh University) found some coins and sealings at Sankisa[1] (long. 79'. 30", lat. 27'. 20") in the course of Geological explorations conducted by him, and kindly presented them to the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University. An account of the sealings has been publishad by us elsewhere[2] and the coins are described below.

A. Punch-marked Coins

1.	Metal	:	Silver.
	Shape	:	Oval.
	Size[3]	:	1. 57 X 1.36 cm.
	Weight	:	2.8 gm.

Obv. Traces of symbols, of these the sun-symbol is clear. Another seems to consist of four taurines around a dot.

Rev. Defaced. (**Pl.I. 1**).

2.	Metal	:	Silver.
	Shape	:	Rectangular.
	Size	:	1. 07 x O. 82 cm.
	Weight	:	1. 73 gm.

1. The mound is about 1500 feet in length, 1000 feet in breadth, and some 41 feet in height. Cunninghum (*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 311) for the first time identified the site with *Saṅkāśya* of Sanskrit literature, *Sankassā* of Pali and *Seng-kia-she* of Hiuen-tsang. The site is very sacred to the Buddhists, since according to a legend in the *Sarabhamigga Jātaka* (*Jātaka*) Vol, IV, translated by W. H. D, Rouse, no. 483, p. 138) the Buddha alighted at this place from the Trayastriṁśa heaven where he had gone to preach *Dhamma* to his mother.
2. *JUPHS*, NS, IX pp. 91-95.
3. The size of all the coins has been measured at two points of maximum length and breadth respectively. I am grateful to Dr. A. K. Srivastava Numismatic officer State Museum, Lucknow, for determining the weight and measurement of coins.

Obv. The coin is rather unusual and difficult to be identified. Dr. P.L. Gupta,[1] on being consulted, identified it as a double obversed punch-marked coin bearing symbols on both sides. The older symbol is not clear but possibly it consisted of eight spikes around a circle. The later obverse symbol consists of three hollow squares and three 'V' type symbols alternately pressed around a dot. The older symbol is also known from the Lotapur Hoard, while the later symbol appears to be a new one. The symbols on the obverse have suffered partial obliteration as a result of being heavily struck on the reverse side. The coin was cut from a thick metal sheet and its corners have been chipped.

Rev. Sun symbol. (**Pl. I. 2**).

B. Uninscribed Cast Coin

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Roundish.
Size	:	1. 03 x O. 98 cm.
Weight	:	O. 85 gm.

Obv. Crescent over three-arched hill (described by some as three-arched *chaitya*).[2]

Rev. Defaced. (**Pl. I. 3**).[3]

C. Mathura Coins

1. Coin of Rāmadatta

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Circular.
Size	:	2.28 cm.
Weight	:	5.25 gm.

Obv. The design is impressed by a die larger than the coin surface which leaves a small portion of the coin unstamped. The device shows Lakshmi standing, facing. Her raised right hand probably holds a flower. Details of the left hand are not clear. To the left is a tree, and to the right is a symbol resembling a crescent commonly met with on ancient coins of Mathura.[4] Above the

1. The whole paragraph is based on the observations of Dr. Gupta.
2. For a similar design see Allan, *BMC, AI*, pl. xxI. 5.
3. (On the analogy of other coins of this type, the reverse device appears to have been elephant. *A. M. S.*)
4. See *BMC, AI*, pl. XXIV.

figure is the legend *Rāma da..* in Brāhmī characters of *c.* first century B. C.

Rev. It is very much worn out, only a few dots on the upper part of the coin are noticeable. It is, however, clear that the design was similar to what has been described by Allan as "a degenerate copy of three elephants type".[1] (Pl. I. 4)

The coin no doubt is that of Rāmadatta. According to Allan, there were two kings of that name in the Mathura series—Rāmadatta I whose coins bear simply his name, and Rāmadatta II who has the title *raño* (*rājan*) prefixed to his name.[2] If Allan's surmise be correct, our specimen should be ascribed to Rāmadata I.

2. Coin of Śeshadatta[3]

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Round.
Size	:	1.99 cm.
Weight	:	4.2 gm.

Obv. Lakshmī standing, facing. The right hand is raised and holds a flower; the left hangs down and rests on the hip. She wears a head-dress. On the right near the head are three dots arranged in triangular form. There also occur three symbols arranged vertically: (1) a crescent-like symbol, (2) a highly conventionalized *śrivatsa* and (3) 'U' with a dot inside. The legend clock-wise reads *Rajño Śeshadatasa* in Brāhmī characters of *c.* lst century A. D.

Rev. Completely defaced.[4] (Pl. I. 5)

---

1. *Ibid.*, p. 176 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, p. Cx. See also *ibid.* pp. 179-80; varieties *a* and *b* belong to the first category and *c* and *d* to the second.
3. Three coins of this king have been published by Rapson (*JRAS*, 1900, p. 110, nos, 9-11); one by Allan (*BMC, AI*, p. 174 (31a). pl. XLIII, no. 18; Allan reads *Goshadatta*, but see *Ibid.*, p. cxi where he corrects it to *Śeshadatta)*; two (and not one as misreported in *JNSI*, XXV, p. 241) unearthed at Hastinapur (*Ancient India* nos. 10-11, p. 103, nos. 1 and 3); one published by Burn (*JRAS*, 1900, p. 554) and one published by R. R. Tripathi (*JNSI*, XXV, p. 241)
4. It is intersting to note that the two coins of Śeshadatta unearthed at Hastinapur (*Ancient India*, nos. 10-11, p. 103 nos. 1, 3) and the one noticed by R. R. Tripathi (see fn. above) have also their reverse defaced. Of the three coins published by Rapson two bear on their reverse probably a

3. Coin with an incomplete legend

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Round.
Size	:	1.68 cm.
Weight	:	3 6 gm.

Obv. Lakshmī standing facing. The posture of the right hand is indistinct, the coin being defaced at that point. Her left hand rests on the hip. On the right, two symbols resembling crescent and a highly conventionalized *śrīvatsa*, have been vertically arranged. Only part of the last two letters of the legend, *ta* and *sa*, can be read, the rest being out of flan.

Rev. The reverse device is what Allan describes as "three elephants with riders; the central one facing; others to r. and l. respectivly."[1] (**Pl. I. 6**)

The device and the remnant of the legend suggest that the coin is that of a king of the dynasty to which Rāmadatta and Śeshadatta belonged. In fact it closely resembles a coin of Purushadatta illustrated by Allan. [2]

D. Yaudheya (?) Coin

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Square.
Size	:	1. 07 x 1.00 cm.
Weight	:	1. 08 gm.

Obv. Conventionalized figure of an elephant with dot above the animal, probably representing a rider; and a penon-like object behind. Above the figure are two letters *ya* (?) and *ga* (?) which originally formed part of a legend. The rest is out of flan. The obverse design is

debased represention of the type : three elephants-one to front and the others facing right and left, each with a man mounted on his neck (*JRAS*, 1900, p. 110); and one has 'a wheel with a *chaitya*,' (*Ibid*). It may be noted in passing that Rapson describes as reverse what we have described as obverse and *vice versa*.

1. *BMC, AI*, p. 173. There was a progressive degeneration in the delineation of this type (*BMC, AI*, pl. XLIV, 8-12). Allan remarks: 'this type is crudely represented and degenerates until it is almost irrecognizable' (*ibid.*, p. cviii).
2. *BMC, AI*, pl. XXIV, no. 3.

the same as met with on a round Yaudheya coin illustrated by Allan.[1]

Rev. A wavy line and other devices. There are traces of a legend. (**Pl. I. 7**)

E. Coins of Virasena

1.	Metal	:	Copper.
	Shape	:	Rectangular.[2]
	Size	:	1. 09 x 1.00 cm.
	Weight	:	1.88 gm.

Obv. Palm tree[3] between two *nandipadas* ; above it the legend (*Vī*) *rasa* (*se*) *nasa*.

Rev. Much defaced but seems to be similar to what Allan describes as "Rude standing figure of Lakshmi holding a stalk of flower growing beside her in her hand".[4] (**Pl. I. 8**)

2.	Metal	:	Copper.
	Shape	:	Rectangular.
	Size	:	1. 17 x 1.1 cm.
	Weight	:	1.3 gm.

Obv. and *Rev.* as described above. (**Pl. I. 9**)

The coins of Vīrasena are quite well known.[5] They were found at various sites in northern Uttar Pradesh and Punjab.[6] Judging from the distribution of his coin, Vīrasena was a king of some consequence. Scholars generally identify Vīresena of the coins

1. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pl. xxxix. 12. see also *Ancient India*, 10-11. pl. LIX. 15.
2. A single coin of round shape has also been reported (*CCIM*, p. 192).
3. Allan describes an identical device on *BMC, AI*, pl. XLV nos. 15-16 as 'tree in railing' (*ibid.* p. 280); but neither Allan's illustration nor specimen has a visible railing.
4. *BMC, AI*, pp. 280-88. What Allan describes as 'stalk of flower' has been taken by Jayaswal as a nāga figure The latter considers it as suggestive of the fact that the ruler belonged to the Nāga dynasty.
5. Other varieties of his coins are also known (*JBORS*, XIX, p. 20). Certain coins bearing the name Vīrasena on the obverse and on reverse either blank or bearing an animal figure have been taken by Smith to be the issues of an earlier homonymous king (*CCIM*, p. 192).
6. *BMC, AI*, pp. clv; *JBORS*, XIX, p. 19. Altekar remarks "His coins are found only in northem Uttara Pradesha and never in the Madhya Pradesha and Central or Eastern U. P." (*The Early History of the Deccan* (ed, by G. Yazdani), parts I-VI,P. 156 n.).

with the homonym mentioned in an inscription found by Sir Richard Burn at Jankhat in Farrukhabad district.[1] Jayaswal takes him to be a Naga king[2] and holds him responsible for ousting the Kushāṇas from Mathura and whole of the Ganga-Yamuna doab.[3] Smith thinks that it is very possible that this ruler was a predecessor of Nagasena–a king of Āryāvarta mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.[4] But according to Altekar, there is no evidence to show that Vīresena was a Nāga ruler[5] and H. V. Trivedi also holds the same view.[6]

F. Naga Coins

1. Metal : Copper.
   Shape : Roundish.
   Size : 1.06 x 0.96 cm.
   Weight : 0. 75 gm.

   Obv. Peacock, similar to those represented on Nāga coins.[7]

   Rev. Defaced. (**Pl. I. 10**)

2. Metal : Copper.
   Shape : Roundish.
   Size : 1.05 x 0. 96 cm.
   Weight : 0.95 gm.

   Obv. Humped bull standing right inside a circular border of dots—a device quite common on the Nāga coins.[8]

   Rev. Traces of legend.[9] (**Pl. II. 1**)

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1. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XIX, p. 23. According to Jayaswal "most of the characteristics of the Jankhat writing being of an earlier period than the inscriptions of the time of Vasudeva and a few being contemporary, we have to assign the record to a period not later than the time of Vāsudeva Kushan" (*op. cit*, p. 23). Allan, however, places Virasena in 3rd century A. D, (*op. cit.*, p. clv).
2. *Op. cit*, p. 20.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 23.
4. *JRAS*, 1897. p. 876.
5. *JNSI*, V, p, 124.
6. See Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvatī*, pp. vi—vii.
7. *Ibid.*, pls. I—II.
8. *Ibid*, pls. III—V.
9. The legend probably had the name of the king together with the title *mahārāja* as is the case with most of the Nāga coins (*BMC, AI*, p. XXVIII, nos. 15—16)

G. Coin of Achyu

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Roundish.
Size	:	1.02 x 0.87 cm.
Weight	:	1.175 gm.

Obv. Traces of the legend (not clear on the photograph) *Achyu*, in Brāhmi characters of *c.* 4th century A. D.

Rev. Wheel with eight spokes. (**Pl. II. 2**)

The coins bearing the legend *Achyu* are fairly widely known.[1] Achyu of the coins has generally been identified with Achyuta, an Āryāvarta king uprooted by Samudragupta, as mentioned in the latter's Prayāga-praśasti.[2]

H. Coins with Srimadadivaraha Legend

1.

Metal	:	Copper.[3]
Shape	:	Oval.
Size	:	1.74 x 1.5 cm.
Weight	:	3.640 gm.

Obv[4]. Ādivarāha, from head to waist, facing right. The face is raised as if in the act of uplifting the Earth-goddess (the latter not shown). The neck is shown in the shape of a crescent in between but unconnected with the head and the torso. The right hand rests on the hip (*kaṭisaṁsthita*), the left hanging down is bent at the elbow and rests on the knee of the bent left leg. In front of the figure are shown three pellets arranged vertically.[5] Many other details met with in some such

1. *CCIM*, pp. 188—89 and pl. XXII. 9; *BMC, AI*, pl. XIV, 1—6.
2. Allan, *BMC, AI*, p. lxxix; *Gupta Coins*, p. xxii-xxiii; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 6th ed., p. 536.
3. Some of these coins bearing *Śrīmadādivarāha* legend and also some coins of Vināyakapāla described below, show traces of silver-plating. It has been pertinently suggested that even coins of this type which apparently seem to be of silver are in fact silver-plated copper coins meant to circulate as silver money (*JNSI*, XV, pp. 218—19).
4. Smith (*CCIM*, p. 241) describes this as *rev.* and *vice versa*. See, however, R. C. Kar in *JNSI* XV, p. 214.
5. Kar suggests that the three pellets are symbolic of *mantraśakti*, *utsāha-śakti* and *prabhu-śakti* (*JNSI*, XV, pp. 216—17).

coins.[1] are not seen on the ones described by us here.

Rev. Legend in Nāgarī characters reading: (1) *Mada* (*dā*), *di*, (2) *Varāha*.[2] Below it are marks that have been described by Smith as "reminiscence of the Sassanian fire-altar.[3]" **(Pl. II. 3)**

2.

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Oval.
Size	:	1.91 x 1.41 cm.
Weight	:	3.635gm.

Obv. Ādivarāha as above; but only from head to shoulder. There is a dot in front of the head and another at its back. Over the head is a looped line.

Rev. A two-lined legend in *Nāgarī* characters, reading: (1) *di* (2) *Varāha*. Below are marks as mentioned above. **(Pl. II. 4)**

3.

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Oval.
Size	:	1.74 x 1. 53. cm.
Weight	:	3.610 gm.

Obv. Ādivarāha as in the preceding coin, but from head to waist.

Rev. Legend in *Nāgarī* characters : (1) *mada* (*dā*)...(2) *Varaha*. **(Pl. II. 5)**.

I. Coins of Vinayakapala

1.

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Irregular.
Size	:	1.53 x 1.37 cm.
Weight	:	3.915 gm.

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1. According to Kar, the complete device (which does not occur on any specimen—the coin blank being invariably smaller than the die) contains the following details: The Varāha figure, encircled by a margin of dots, wears a *vanamālā*, and, in certain cases, has a rampant lion below one of his feet (instead of a nāga as given in iconographical texts and also met with in sculpture). The other devices are: a *chakra*, *gadā*, *padma* and, *śankha* (*JNSI*, XV, pp. 215—18).

2. This and the legend on the following coin confirm R. C. Kar's opinion (*JNSI*, XV, p. 214 fn. 2) that the two—line legend on this type of coins was arranged as (1) *Śrīmadādi* (2) *Varāha* and not as (1) *Śrīmadā* (2) *divarāha* as has been given by Smith (*CCIM*, p. 241).

3. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 233.

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Obv. Degenerate Ādivaraha figure.

Rev. Letter *Ka* in *Nāgari* characters. **(Pl. II. 6)**

2.	Metal	:	Copper.
	Shape	:	Nearly triangular.
	Size	:	1.42 x 1.44 cm.
	Weight	:	3.78 gm.

Obv. and *Rev.* as above. **(Pl. II. 7)**.

3.	Metal	:	Copper.
	Shape	:	Oval.
	Size	:	1.45 x 1.33 cm.
	Weight	:	3.710 gm.

Obv. and *Rev.* as on coin No. 1. **(Pl. II. 8)**.

4.	Metal	:	Copper.
	Shape	:	Irregular.
	Size	:	1.46 x 1.39 cm.
	Weight	:	3.875 gm.

Obv. As on coin No. 1.

Rev. Letters *ya*, *ka* in *Nāgarī* characters. **(Pl. II. 9)**

All these coins are small in size, thick in fabric and irregular in shape. The coin surface being invariably smaller than the die with which they were struck, only one or two letters of king's name appear on them. On the basis of a study of fifty four silver coins found in village Bhondri, district Lucknow, V. S. Agrawala,[1] who was the first to report the coins of this ruler, concluded that the complete legend on the die was *Śrī-Vināyakapālpdeva* arranged in three lines: (1) *Śrī Vinā* (2) *yakapāla* (3) *deva*.

The Ādivaraha coins[2] with Varāha figure and the legend *Śrimadādivarāha* undoubtedly show a range of difference in the depiction of the *Varāha* figure as well as in palaeography The *Varāha* figures on our specimens, for example, are degenerate as compared to those on the coins illustrated by Smith[3] and Kar.[4] In none of the specimens described above is the neck, resembling

1. 'Dramma Coins of the Gurjara Pratīhāra King Vināyaka—pāladeva (914-83 A. D.)', *JNSI*, vol. X, pp. 28—30, at p. 28.
2. It is now agreed upon that these coins should be equated with *Śrimadādivorāha-drammas* mentioned in the Siyaḍoṇi Inscription (*EI*, I, p. 15[illegible] n. 8).
3. *CCIM*, pl. XXV, no. 18.
4. *JNSI*, XV, pl. VI.

crescent in shape, attached to the head and the torso as is the case with the coins illustrated by Smith and Kar. This leads to the conclusion that the coins with *Ādivarāha* legend were minted for a fairly long time. The Gurjara Pratihāra king, Bhoja I, who bore the title *Śrimadādivarāha*, introduced this type of coinage for the first time. The more debased coins of this type, as Kar suggests,[1] were issued either in the later part of Bhoja's reign or by his two immediate successors, Mahendrapāla I (A.D. 885–910) and Bhoja II (A.D. 910–14). If the latter be the case, either these two rulers merely followed the coin-type of Bhoja I, or else the legend *Śrimadādivarāha* on their coins refers to Varāhāvatāra only, as they are not known to have borne this title. The coins of Vināyakapāladeva[2] bearing one or more letters of his name are more degenerate than the coins bearing the legend *Śrimadādivarāha*. Besides the degeneration in the mode of execution, the palaeography of the letters also points to these coins being of a later date. The introduction of the legend in the form of name of the ruler instead of *Śrimadādivarāha* indicates that, from the time of Vināyakapāla (c. 914–933 A.D.) the tradition of merely imitating coin type of Bhoja I was given up. There is little possibility of the successors of Vināyakapāla, none of whom is known to have borne the title Ādivarāha, issuing the coins with the legend *Śrimadādivarāha* after Vināyakapāla had introduced the name of the king for the legend of coins. In view of this, the opinion of Smith that rude copies of the coins bearing Varāha figure and the legend *Śrimadādivarāha* "probably belong to the eleventh or twelfth century"[3] does not seem to be correct.

J. Coin of Shah Jahan[4]

Metal	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Roundish.
Size	:	2.5 x 1.98 cm.
Weight	:	20.4 gm.

1. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 214—15.
2. The *Dravya Parikshā* of Thakkura Pheru mentions *Varāhamudrā* and *Vināyakamudrā* as two types of *Gurjaramudrā* (*vide JNSI*, X, p. 29).
3. *CCIM*, p. 239. It must, however, be said in fairness to Simth that the coins of Vināyakapāla were not known till the publication of his *Catalogue*.
4. The decipherment of this coin, I owe to Shri C. S. Srivastava, Numismatic Assistant, Lucknow Museum.

Obv. Sahib Qoran Sani.

Rev. (*Z*)*arab* (*Bai*)*rat*
(*Sanah*) XXX7 **(Pl.II. 10)**

Sankisa is an important archaeological site in Northen India. It was Cunningham who first reported the find of Aśokan elephant capital[1] at the site and also the existence of a modern temple of Bisārī Devī.[2] The excavations conducted by Hirananda Shastri[3] brought to light remains of the buidings of Mauryan, Gupta and Medeaival periods and some interesting minor antiquities – coins[4] seals, terracottas, etc.

The coins under study are a surface collection and cover a long period. The punch-marked coins may be placed anywhere between *circa* sixth century and *c.* first century B C., while the uninscribed cast coins may be ascribed to *c.* third or second century B.C. The coin of Rāmadatta belongs palaeographically to *c.* second or first century B.C., while that of Śeshadatta to *c.* first century A.D. Coins of Vīrasena are datable to the second or third century A. D., Nāga coins to *circa* third century A. D., and that of Achyu to the fourth century A. D. The *Ādivarāha* coins with the figure of Ādivarāha and the legend *Śrīmadādivrāha* can be placed between *c.* 835 and *c.* 914 A. D. and those of Vināyakapāla between *c.* 914 and *c.* 933 A. D. The coin of Shah Jahan belongs to seventeenth century A. D. These coins thus provide a chronological sequence for the history of the celebrated Buddhist site, Sankisa, indicating the various periods through which it passed from a few centuries before Christ till the Moghul period and amply corroborate the archaeological evidence bearing on the continuity of successive cultures. Sankisa is one of the few sites where numismatic evidence from surface collection in itself has provided a fairly representative cross–section of past history over several centuries.

1. Cunningham, *ASIR*, I, pp. 274—75.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 274.
3. *JUPHS*, III, p. 107.
4. The coins included one of Gomitra, one of Hagāmāsha and a few of the Kushāṇa kings (*JUPHS*, III, p. 107).

A LATE POST-MAURYAN COIN HOARD

Michael Mitchiner

These twenty coins are reported to have been found together and all have a similar pattern of corrosion with lumpy deposits of green copper salts covering a layer of black and red copper oxides which latter suggest that the coins were burnt at the time of their burial. Their findspot is not recorded but the composition of the hoard suggests a site in the Upper Ganges valley or east Punjab. The coins are as follows :

1 — 4. *Anonymous circular cast*, (*BMC*,*AI*, 94, 85 ff.).

Obv. Elephant walking left.

Rev. Three-arched *stūpa*.

AE, Round, 7 mm., 1.92, 1.64, 1.55, 0.98 gm.

5 — 6. *Anonymous rectangular cast* (*BMC*,*AI*, 88, 18 ff.).

Obv. Elephant l., ladder below, standard on l., *svastika* and taurine above.

Rev. Railed tree, taurine and *stūpa* on upper l., hollow cross lower l.

AE, Rectangular, 14 × 14 mm., 2.76, 2.54 gm.

7 *Obv.* similar.

Rev. Railed tree on l., details on r. not clear.

AE, Rectangular, 12 × 13 mm., 1.22 gm. (*BMC*, *AI*, 86,6).

8 — 13 *Obv.* Elephant l., standard below, taurine upper l., *svastika* lower l.

Rev. Railed tree, taurine and *stūpa* upper l., hollow cross lower l.

AE, Rectangular, 11–14 × 12–14 mm., 3.80, 3.01, 2.77, 2.23, 2.16, 1.40 gm. (*BMC*, *AI*, 89,34 ff.)

14. *Mathura* : *Rajuvala* (*BMC*, *AI*, 188, 121 ff.)

Obv. Lion r.

Rev. Hercules standing.

Lead, Round, 12 mm., 2.46 gm.

15. *Pañchāla*: *Bhānumitra* (*BMC*, *AI*, 195, 27 ff.).

Obv. Three symbols of Pañchāla – *Bha (numitra) sa.*

Rev. Worn.

AE, Round, 12 mm., 1.75 gm.

16. *Probably Kujula Kadphises*

Obv. Part of bust and of legend containing Greek '0' of square form.

Rev. Part of Kharoshṭhī legend including '*pha*',

AE, Round, broken (about 25 mm.).

17 — 18. *Azes* II

Obv. King on horseback.

Rev. Zeus Nikephoros ; control marks of *BMC, AI,* 77,53-4.

Billon drachms, 11–12 mm., 1.88, 1.87.

19. *Obv.* King seated cross-legged.

Rev. Hermes standing; same control marks (*BMC, AI,* 83, 119–121).

AE, Round, 18 mm., 2.33 gm.

20. *Kanishka* (*BMC,AI,* 134, 45).

Obv. King standing, ShAO KANhShKI.

Rev. Mao standing.

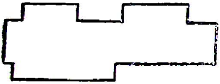
AE, Round, 17 mm., 4.76 gm.

These coins are all common and it is only their association in a hoard that deserves comment. It is significant that the circular and rectangular cast coins were still circulating at the time of Kanishka while it is to be expected that coins of Rajuvala, Bhānunitra, Kujula Kadphises and Azes II would still be current at this period.

The elephant-stūpa coins and the rectangular elephant coins were essentially the copper coinage of the Mauryan empire which continued to be issued by the Śuṅgas and thereafter remained in circulation and continued to be imitated until the early Kushāna period when the present hoard was buried. During this period of over four centuries coins with identical types were current but the coins themselves evolved in other ways. The later coins differ from the early coins as regards their style, fabric, metrology, range of denominations and range of coin types. These changes can best be defined for the rectangular cast coins.

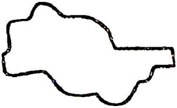
Most of the coins described here have rectangular flans of somewhat irregular shape. Their flans are thin but bear the sym-

bols in high relief so that the end result is a coin whose thickness varies considerably in different parts. The symbols themselves are carelessly depicted and have a lumpy appearance that is accentuated in the case of the elephant whose head, shoulders and pelvis are often raised above the rest of the elephant as rounded bosses. Another feature of these coins is the lack of sharpness in their designs. Viewed in cross section the symbols do not stand out vertically from the the coin flan but tend to rise in a slope. In these various features of fabric and style the late rectangular coins described here differ from early coins with the same obverse and reverse types that are discussed in a separate paper.[1] The differences are best demonstrated by drawing a schematic cross section of an early and a late coin with the differences emphasised :—



Early coin

Regular flan with medium relief of regular height and with vertical sides.



Late coin

Thin flan; high relief with sloping contour and raised bosses.

All the rectangular cast coins of elephant type in the early group described elsewhere showed the early fabric and style whereas in the late hoard presented here the majority of coins have the late fabric and style though two of them (coins 3.80 & 2.54 gm.) retain the characteristics of the early period and were presumably issued at an early date. The two forms of coin described here as the early and the late fabric are representative of the two groups of coins that were current in the early second century B.C.[2] and around the end of the first century A.D.[3] In this respect these two groups of coins represent the polar ends of a continuous evolutionary process. This is borne out by the many coins encou-

1. M. B. Mitchiner, Some Kauśāmbī, Rajgir and Mauryan copper coins, *JNSI*, XXXIV, II, pp. 157 ff.
2. Mitchiner, *ibid.* the coins described in that paper are considered to have been buried close to 170 B.C.
3. i. e. at the time of Kanishka. The date of his accession is still debated. Dates of *c.* 78 A.D. and *c.* 128 A.D. are the major proposals.

ntered in random collections whose fabric and style can best be termed intermediate; not as fine and regular as the early coins but not as rude and degenerate as the late coins.

The manner in which the early fabric evolved, during four or more centuries, into the late fabric appears straightforward when one considers the method of manufacture. The coins were cast in moulds and during the later part of this pericd the use of clay moulds has been verified. The clay moulds in question were recovered from Mathurā[1] and from excavations at Kondapur in Hyderabad and at Sisupalagarh in Orissa.[2] At both the latter sites the moulds were recovered from strata of the second and third centuries A.D. These moulds were used for casting imitation punch-marked silver *kārshāpanas* and each mould contains a tree of impressions that had been made by pressing genuine coins of various periods into the wet clay. It is likely that the later rectangular elephant copper coins were cast in the same manner. This is suggested by, and also explains, the progressive evolution of the coin style and fabric.

Circulation tends to wear the sharp edges of coin reliefs preferentially so that the use of worn coins as templates for moulds in which further coins were cast will, when the procedure is repeated a number of times, produce a change in the fabric of the coins. Early coins with their relief symbols rising vertically from the flan will tend to be replaced by later coins with the relief in rounded contour. The second stage is the need, when worn coins are used as templates for the moulds, to 'touch up' the imdression by re-engraving the relief of the symbols. When this is not skilfully performed the resulting coins will tend to bear their symbols in lumpy relief. These two features, the use of worn coins as templates for moulds and the 'touching up' of impressions in the moulds, account for the evolution in the fabric of rectangular cast coins from the early fabric of the second century B.C. to the late fabric of the first century A. D.

Evolution of the coin fabric was not the only change undergone by this coin series. The nature of the currency also changed. The early coinage commenced[3] as a multi-denomination series of the Mauryan period. Coins of this period show the standard on

1. P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*, 1954, 173 ff.
2. Mitchiner, *ibid.*
3. Durga Prasad, *JNSI* 1954, 166-173.

the left of the elephant and were cast on the *viṁśatika* copper weight standard. Slightly later, probably on the advent of the Śungas in *c.* 185 B.C., the coinage altered in both type and metrology. The coins now show a standard beneath the elephant and comprise a multi-denomination series cast on the *kārshāpaṇa* copper weight standard.

By the first century A.D. the coin series had a different basis. It was neither multi-denominational nor did the coins adhere closely to a standard weight. Coins current during this period have a a weight range of around 1 to 4 gm. and probably all passed current for the value of half a *kārshāpaṇa*. This was the denomination of most coins with the standard beneath the elephant. These Śunga half *kārshāpaṇas* provided the prototypes of most late coins, but during the late period the current coinage was mixed. The coins described in this paper include late fabric issues derived from Śunga half *karshapanas* (coins 9-13) and from Mauryan quarter *viṁśatikas* (coin 5) as well as original early fabric coins of the Mauryan (coin 8) and Śuṅga (coin 6) periods.

The rectangular cast elephant coinage was initially the copper courrency of the Mauryan emperors and the succeeding Śuṅgas. It was a popular currency that continued to be imitated and to circulate widely during the period when the regional Ganges valley series issued by Pañchāla, Mathurā, Kausāmbī, Ayodhyā and other states, were current. During the late period these elephant coins did not provide the official currency of a local state nor can it be considered that they were a coinage restricted to the Kāṇva kings who succeeded the Śuṅgas and became extinct in the late first century B.C. It is propable that this coinage, which had found wide acceptance during the Mauryan and Śuṅga periods, was perpetuated during about two and a half centuries both as the coinage of the Kāṇva kings and also by unofficial casting over a wide area to meet local needs.

KUSHANA–MURUNDA RULE IN EASTERN INDIA – NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

(Pl. III)

Some Jain traditions refer to the Muruṇḍa rule at Pāṭaliputra and there is some mention in Chinese and Tibetan works that Kanishka led a campaign into India, overthrew the kings of Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra and took away with him the Buddhist scholar Aśvaghosha. These references in literature have led some scholars to believe in the Kushāṇa rule in Bihar; they have tried to substantiate it by eliciting evidences from numismatics, epigraphy and plastic art.

Numismatics was employed to substantiate this idea, most likely for the first time by K. P. Jayaswal. In his Presidential Address to the 26th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India, he mentioned a find of a thousand Kushāṇa copper coins at Radhia in Motihari (Champaran) district (Bihar) and claimed that it proved the extension of the Kushāṇa rule upto Champaran; he also added that it lent support to the conclusion that he had earlier reached in his *History of Nepal*. This conclusion was that a century, which is a gap in Nepalese history, was probably covered by Kushāṇa rule whose coins were dug in Nepal. Since these coins were only a few, he then took their evidence as inconclusive; now the Radhia find established Kushāṇa rule in Champaran; and it also covered their rule in Nepal.[1] R.D. Banerji, on the basis of the coins in Orissa, came out, almost at the same time, with the suggestion that the Kushāṇas ruled in Orissa as far as the Rishkulyā and Lāṅgulīya rivers.[2]

Then, when A.S. Altekar published a hoard of Kushāṇa copper coins from Buxar, he came out with the suggestion, on the basis of that hoard and the finds of the Kushāṇa coins in the Pāṭaliputra excavations, that Wima Kadphises succeeded in con-

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1. *Annual Report of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1936, p. 11; *Sixty years of the Numismatic Society of India*, p. 148.
2. *History of Orissa* I, p. 115ff.

quering northern India right upto Patna. The Kushāṇa currency succeeded in completely ousting the indigenous copper currency in about 75 A.D.[1] He repeated the same views, but this time a little cautiously, when he published a gold amulet of the pattern of a Kushāṇa coin found at Sadar-galli in Patna city. In this paper he referred to the same finds that he had mentioned in his earlier paper and said that on that evidence some scholars, including himself, hold that the Kushāṇa rule was *probably* well established in Bihar and Orissa at least for a few decades.[2]

Taking cue from Altekar, Adris Banerji, published two papers on the subject; one in this *Journal*[3] and the other in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.[4] In them he furnished a long list of the finds of the Kushāṇa coins in Eastern India and supplemented it with a list of epigraphic material and art relics of the Kushāṇa period known in this region and suggested that U.P., Bihar and possibly the Gangetic Delta in Bengal as well as Orissa were included for a time within the empire of Kanishka.

Lately, in the last volume of this *Journal*, Sarjug Prasad Singh has published a long paper bearing almost the same title as given to this paper.[5] Therein, he has produced a long list of numismatic finds in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, reiterated the Jain and Tibetan traditions, referred to some terracotta figurines and art-motifs from various sites in Bihar and said a few other things to stress that Bihar, Bengal and Orissa were included in the Kushāṇa-Muruṇḍa dominion. But he is not clear in his mind about his findings. Suggesting the inclusion of these eastern provinces in the Kushāṇa–Muruṇḍa dominion, he has used the word '*possibility*', which simply meant that he was not sure about it. But most likely, he does not mean this; he believes firmly otherwise. He has asserted emphatically that Muruṇḍas were the viceroys of the eastern provinces of the Kushāṇa empire. This tends to suggest that Muruṇḍas were not the same as the Kushāṇas (as believed by many scholars); the Kushāṇas did not rule the east personally but through their viceroys, who were Muruṇḍas. Along with this, he further

1 *JNSI*, XII, pp. 121-23; *Kumarhar Excavations* 1951-55, p. 10.

2. *JNSI*, XX, pp. 1-3.

3. *Ibid* XIII, pp. 107-09.

4. *IHQ*. XXVII, pp. 294-303.

5. *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 127-141.

suggests that the Muruṇḍa viceroys were empowered to issue their coins; the Muruṇḍa viceroys issued Purī–Kushāṇa coins; and Purī–Kushāṇa coins should actually be called Muruṇḍa coins. Thus, S P. Singh has gone many steps ahead of other scholars in championing the Kushāṇa rule in the east.

Kushāṇa rule over Bihar and the regions to the east of it is not acceptable to many; and I am one of them. I published two papers[1] critically examining the numismatic material adduced by Altekar and Adris Banerji in support of their suggestions. In a third paper, I reviewed Altekar's views based on the Sadar-galli amulet.[2] To me there is no numismatic evidence that could suggest Kushāṇa expansion in the east beyond Vārāṇasī. I doubt even that much extent of the Kushāṇa empire on a number of considerations.

S.P. Singh has quoted Altekar on a few occassions, but not Adris Banerji. I wonder, if he missed his papers or has deliberately overlooked them. Had he cared to see them, he would have perhaps added a few more finds to his list. He had perhaps no occasion to know of my papers; otherwise, my papers would have helped him to correct some of the errors in his list and also given him some points to think over before putting into writing all that he has said in his paper. In any case, he has provided an occasion to review the matter afresh and to see if there is any reason to revise my views.

The list of the numismatic finds, produced by S.P. Singh, to prove the extension of the Kushāṇa empire into Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, is very much unbalanced in its contents. The list of the finds from Bihar is unnecessarily descriptive and contains such things as have no value for the present quest. It is an unnecessary waste of labour.[3] On the other hand, the finds from Bengal and Orissa are so briefly referred to that they lack many valuable

1. *Ibid*, XV, p. 185; *IHQ*, XXIX, pp. 205-221.
2. *JNSI*, XXI, p. 188-90.
3. This list is in no way the result of any labour or research on the part of the author of the paper. It is simply a copy of the relevant portions of the List of Coin-finds of Bihar and Orissa, prepared by H.K. Prasad, a colleague of mine at the Patna Museum, on the basis of the Treasure Trove records deposited in the Museum and the Coin-registers at my instance. It was published in *INC*, VIII, pp. 45-101. In absence of the proper acknowledgement to the source, his act is nothing but plagiary, which is highly deplorable.

pieces of information.[1] Above all, it is a hotchpotch of several kinds of numismatic material uncritically accumulated. It includes: (a) coins – gold and copper; (b) looped or hooked gold coins meant for use as ornaments; and (c) gold coin-imitations or amulets, meant for ornaments or otherwise. Then the coins relate to three different sources: (a) stray finds; (b) finds in the form of a hoard ; and (c) discovered in course of archaeological excavations. It need hardly be said that the materials, belonging to these different categories do not have the same value or the same meaning for history. So, mere listing of these numismatic finds is not enough in a paper like the one presented by S.P. Singh. It is essential that the finds are properly classified and analysed; the analysis is put to proper interpretation; and their historical value is assessed; and then on the basis of this kind of assessment conclusions are arrived at. As such the list of the numismatic material placed by S. P. Singh in the form it is presented, is liable to mislead the people.[2] It, therefore, needs careful arrangement before its contents could be accepted for any historical conclusion.

I would, therefore first re-describe the finds in my own way, classifying them into various categories, according to their nature, and shall supply such information as is lacking with S. P. Singh. I would also include such finds in the list as he has missed to note

1. Though the original sources are quoted by the author in the foot-notes, it seems that he had no access to them. He has most probably relied on the secondary sources where the finds are briefly or inadequately noticed.

2. It would be interesting to quote here Tarn, who has given some thought to the use of numismatic material as evidence for history. He says, 'Much use has been made by some writers of the find-spots of coins in determining where this or that king reigned, but it is not a satisfactory form of evidence........... Coins travel in trade and almost any other kind of evidence is preferable.......... The following rules seem sound If a king has an abundant coinage which is found in many places over great distances .... that is evidence of widely extended rule; but not evidence that he ruled in all the places where his coins are found. If the coins of a king with a very large coinage are never found in a particular district, that creates a presumption, in the absence of other evidence, that he did not rule there; but if coinage is small, no presumption is created; and in both cases, large and small coinage, the absence of coinage in a district can not be set up against other evidence.......... If only a few isolated coins of a king be known, the find-spot affords no real evidence for the locality of his rule." *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 440. [cf. also A. K. Narain, Numismatic Evidence and Historical Writing, *JNSI*, XVIII, II, pp, 157—62, on this and other related issues; J. P. S.].

or were not known to him so that the material could be known in its entirety and the assessment could be fair.

(A) Gold Amulets or Medallions

1. *Bodh-Gaya find.* A thin disc of gold showing the effigy of Huvishka on both sides and looped at the top, was found by Cunningham in a deposit below the *Vajrāsana* at Bodh-Gaya.[1]

2. *Kumrahār find.* A fargmentary amulet showing a Kushāṇa king standing on one side and the goddess seated on the reverse was found in the excavations at Kumrahār (Pāṭaliputra).[2] The motifs show that they were copied from some coin of the later Kushāṇas (post-Vāsudeva), which bear Ardoksho seated on a high-backed throne.

3. *Sadar-galli find.* A thin piece of gold, showing Huvishka on the obverse and standing Ardoksho on the reverse, with two holes at the top, was discovered in excavations at Sadar-galli in Patna City.[3]

4. *Śiśupālgarh find.* In 194 , during archaeological excavations at Śiśupālgarh (Orissa), a gold piece was found, which bears a Kushāṇa coin-motif (i.e. King standing offering oblation) on one side and a Roman motif (i.e. Head of the king) on the other [4] It bears a loop at the top. Altekar published this piece for the first time and took it to be a coin; On this piece Altekar has tried to read a Brāhmī legend [*Mahara*]*ja Rajadhasa Dhamadamadhāra-*[*sa*] (?) on the Kushāṇa motif side and some letters HAIEAIZNAI on the Roman motif side. He attributes it, as a coin, to *Mahārāja Rājādhirāja* Dharmadāmadhara. Following him, every one takes it to be a coin issued by an Orissan ruler. But actually the piece is not a coin. Both Kushāṇa and Roman coins were known in Orissa. And Kushāṇa coin-motif had been imitated by the Guptas and the others; like-wise the Roman motif was adopted by Sātavāhanas for their silver coins.[5] So, apparently, there is nothing unusual in the imitation of these motifs from these two

1. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, Pl. XXII, fig. 17.
2. *Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 131.
3. *JNSI*, XX, pp. 1-3; *Pāṭaliputra Excavations 1955-56*, pp. 52-53.
4. *JNSI*, XII, pp. 1-4; *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97; S. P. Singh has identified the Roman head as the head of a Muruṇḍa king; he has missed to notice the loop attached to the piece (*op. cit.* p, 135,fn. 3).
5. The Sātavāhana silver conis are not struck in imitation of the Roman coins, cf. the review of the *Coinage of the Satavahanas and Coins from Excavations* (Ed. by Ajay Mitra Shastri) published elsewhere in this *Journal*—J. P. S.

sources on this piece. But we have yet to find an instance where a mule of two different series of coins was used for any coin. Had it been a coin issued by any ruler of Orissa, he would have adopted only one of the two coins as the prototype for his issues. It would have then been either a Kushāṇa or a Roman coin. There are a few other points which negative its nature as a coin A careful observation of the two sides of the piece would show that the legends from the original coins are meaninglessly copied. What Altekar has taken to be the Brāhmī legend is nothing but the scribbling of the Kushāṇa legend in the same way as the Roman legend is scribbled on the Roman side. The title *Mahārāja rājatirāja*, no doubt, was used by the Kushāṇas in their inscriptions which were confined to Mathurā and to its west. They never used this title on their coins. So, it is extremely imaginative to trace out this legend on any piece found far away from Mathurā.

The loop attached to the piece clearly shows that it was meant for an ornament. Mules of two different coin-motifs were often used for medallions, meant for decoration or ornament. An exact parallel to the present piece is in the British Museum collection. It was shown to me by G. K. Jenkins, when I had been there in 1972. It has a Roman head on one side and a Kushāṇa motif (standing Ardoksho) on the other. When, how and where from it came to the Museum is not known; but there are reasons to believe that it originated in North-western Europe, in a Scandinavian country, most likely in Sweden in about the 5th century A. D. This does not mean that the present piece also originated in Europe; but it does show that if a Swedish can fancy Roman and Kushāṇa motifs for his decoration, an Orissan had far better chances to be fascinated with the Kushāṇa and Roman motifs. As such, the piece should be treated only as an amulet or decorative medallion, and not as a coin.

(B) Gold Coins as Ornaments

1. *Belwādāgā find.* A find of three Kushāṇa coins is reported by S.C. Roy from Belwādāgā in Ranchi district.[1] According to him, one of them was sold by the finder to some Zamindar; the other was given to some gold-smith and the third came to him. One of them (most likely the one that was obtained by Roy) related to Huvishka and had a small gold pin or crown at the top. This suggests that the coin was used as an ornament. The details

1. *JBORS*, V, p. 283.

of other two coins are not known; but in view of this coin, it is not unlikely that they may also have had some similar attachments at the top and were used as ornaments.

2. *Sultanganj find.* A later Kushāna and a Gupta coin (Samudragupta: Standard type), both looped at the top, were found along with some ornamants in a pot at Sultanganj, Bhagalpur district in 1959.[1]

3. *Lohārdāgā find.* Two Kushāṇa coins, both looped at the top with hollow tubes (meant for piercing string), were discovered as treasure trove along with a lump of gold at Lohārdāgā (District Ranchi) some six or seven years back and they are now deposited in the Patna Museum.[2] One of them is a double stater of Wima Kadphises and the other is a stater most probably of Vāsudeva.[3] Both of them are very much worn.

(C) Gold Coins

Bihar

1. *Bhagalpur find.* Some gold coins of Vāsudeva were found in Bhagalpur district in 1835.[4]

2. *Pāṭaliputra find.* Two gold coins, one of Vāsudeva with Oesho reverse and the other of some later Kushāṇa ruler (probably Kanishka III) with Ardoksho seated on high backed throne, were found in excavations at Pāṭliputra in 1912-13.[5]

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1. These were first published by S. V. Sohoni (*INC*, I. p. 86). He identified the Gupta coin as that of Chandra Gupta II and the other coin as of Vāsudeva with doubt. Later R. K. Chaudhury republished them (*INC*, II, p. 84). He correctly attributed the Gupta coin to Samudragupta but then he thought that the other coin possibly belongs to Huvishka. Perhaps he was not aware that Huvishka did never use the standing king motif for his gold coins. Moreover, the coin has a trident on the left, which is a feature of the post-Vāsudeva coins. S. P. Singh has followed the wrong attribution of Chaudhury and has also missed to notice that these coins were looped.
2. They were acquired by me when I was the Curator of the Patna Museum.
3. I am not sure about the identity of this coin.
4. *PJASB*, 1885, p. 129
5. These coins were deposited in the Patna Museum (Coin Register Nos. 2091-92) but were subsequently lost in a theft. However, they are described in some detail in the Coin-Register. And on that basis Altekar has published these coins (*JNSI*, XIII, p. 146). In the Museum Register both the coins are attributed to Vāsudeva. But, as has been pointed out by Altekar, one coin did not have any portion of the name which

3. *Mathia puraria find.* 18 Kidāra-Kushāṇa coins were found in 1920 at the village Puraria (Rafiganj) district Gaya. Some of them had the letters *Pare* on the right and some others had only letter *sa.*[1]

4. *Monghyr find.* R. K. Chaudhury had seen three gold coins with a gold-smith at Monghyr. He has described them in a note published in the *Indian Numismatic Chronicle.*[2] One of them was the coin of Samudragupta (Standard type) and the other two were Kushāṇa. One of the Kushāṇa coins belonged to Huvishka and the other was a post-Vāsudeva coin, most probably of Kanishka III.

Bengal

5. *Mahasthan find.* Two gold coins, one of Vāsudeva and the other unassigned, were found at Mahasthan. They were noticed by N. G. Majumdar.[3]

6. *Malda find.* One gold coin of Vāsudeva is reported by N. G. Majumdar as a find from Malda.[4]

7. *Murshidabad district find.* A coin of Vāsudeva in debased gold was found somewhere in Murshidabad district in 1890 [5]

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could be read as BAZODEO; and no coin of Vāsudeva is known with Ardoksho reverse This, may, therefore, be a coin of Kanishka III. S. P. Singh has missed to notice this find.

1. Information based on the Treasure Trove Report in the Patna Museum, The coins were lost subsequeutly in a theft in the Patna Museum; so the reading of the letters on the right cannot be testified.

2. *INC*, II, p. 84. Pl. II. The note is confusing in respect of the Kushāṇa coins; the coins are not clearly attributed to any king there; but the illustrations are captioned as the coins of Kanishka. The author does not seem to be conversant with the Kushāṇa gold coins The Standing King-Oesho type coin has clearly a trident on the left on the obverse; and this shows that it was a post-Vāsudeva coin. The published rubbings do not show the legend, which is probably truncated; but if the legend read by the author is correct, then it may be attributed to Kanishka III. The other coin may at a glance be attributed to Huvishka by the simple fact that the obverse bears a bust.

3. *JPASB*, XXVIII, 1932. pp. 127ff, Pl. I. 1 and 3. S. P. Singh mentions only one coin (Coin 1); but most likely he refers to second coin (Coin 3) also but without mentioning the place-name and says that it is an imitation gold coin of Kushāṇa type (*op. cit.* p. 134, fn. 5).

4. *JPASB*, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 127ff , Pl. I, No. 2.

5. *PASB*, 1890, p. 162.

8. *Bogra district find.* A gold Coin of Vāsudeva was found in 1909 in Bogra district.[1]

Madhya Pradesh

Harda find. Two gold coins, one quarter-stater of Huvishka and another stater of Kanishka III with *Oesho* reverse and the letters *ha, tha, aum.* were found at Harda in Hoshangabad district in the last quarter of the last century.[2]

(D) Copper Coins

North Bihar—North of the river Ganges

1. *Belwa find.* In 1919, three Kushāṇa copper coins, including one of Kanishka, were found in archaeological diggings at Belwa (Sub-division : Gopalganj), district Saran.[3]

2. *Chirand find.* In the archaeological excavations, that are being conducted by the Bihar State Archaeological department, a hoard of 88 Kushāṇa copper coins was found some years back at Chirand in Saran district on the bank of the Ganges.[4]

3. *Laghusā find.* A hoard of several hundred Kushāṇa copper coins, mixed with the bull and cock type coins of Ayodhya, was found in an earthen pot at the village Laghusā (Gopalganj sub-division) district Saran, some years back. A few coins of both the types were presented to the Patna Museum by a resident of that village.[5]

4. *Lauria Nandangarh finds.* (a) In the archaeological excavations during 1935-36 one coin of Huvishka (?)[6] and during 1936-37 two Kushāṇa coins (one of Kanishka and the other of Huvishka)[7] were found at Lauria Nandangarh, district Champaran. (b) In 1939 a hoard consisting of 48 Kushāṇa (44 of Kanishka and 4 of Huvishka) along with 14 Kushāṇa imitations of

1. *Gauḍarājamālā* (Bengali), p. 4. This reference is given by S. P. Singh for an imitation coin of Vāsudeva in base gold (*op. cit.*, p. 134, fn.5.)
2. *JNSI*, XVII, p. 109; *Inventory of the Hoards and find of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh*, p. 9.
3. *ASI,AR*, 1918-19, pp. 46ff.
4. Unpublished. Personal information.
5. Coins came to the Museum, when I was the Curator there some time between 1963 and 1972.
6. *ASI,AR*, 1935-36, p. 64.
7. *Ibid.*, 1936-37, pp. 49-55.

Punjab type was found at this place.[1] Most of the coins of this hoard are in the Patna Museum.

5. *Cherithan find.* In or about 1952 a small hoard of Kushāṇa copper coins was found at Cherithan in Champaran district and came in the possession of Ganesh Chaube of Bangri.[2]

6. *Radhia find.* In 1936, an earthen pot containing about a thousand Kushāṇa copper coins was found two feet below the ground by a villager while he was digging *kankar* in the village Radhia in Champaran district.[3] Seven coins from this find were acquired by the Patna Museum.[4]

7. *Vaiśālī Finds.* In the archaeological excavations conducted during 1911–12, only one copper coin of Wima Kadphises was found.[5] Again when in 1958-62 excavations were done there, 9 Kushāṇa coins (2 of Wima Kadaphises, 3 of Kanishka, 3 of Huvishka, 1 later Kushāṇa) were found.[6] Some stray finds of Kushāṇa coins from this place are also known in the Vaiśālī Museum.[7]

8. *Utara find.* A hoard of 500 Kushāṇa copper coins was discovered at the village Utara (Janakpur), district Darbhanga, in the later part of the fifties, while digging a tank.[8]

Western Bihar—Border of U. P.

9. *Buxar find.* In 1949 a hoard containg 402 copper coins was found buried near the bank of the Ganges at Buxar. It is published by Altekar.[9] It contained 23 coins of Wima Kadphises, 159 of Kanishka, 172 of Huvishka, 23 undecipherable Kushāṇa, and 10 coins of Ayodhyā (Bull and Cock type).

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1. Information contained in the Treasure Trove Report with the Patna Museum. There the Kushāṇa imitation coins are mentioned as Puri-Kushāṇa, but the actual coins in the Museum show that it was an imitation of the Punjab type and not Purī-Kushāṇa.
2. Personal information.
3. K. P. Jayaswal, Presidential Address, Numismatic Society of India, 1936, *Sixty Years of the Numismatic Society of India*, p. 1
4. Only seven of these coins are mentioned by S. P. Singh (*op cit*, p. 130) on the basis of the information contained in the published list (*INC*, VIII, p. 53, No. 25).
5. *ASI,AR*, 1913-14, p. 181.
6. *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1958-62, pp. 132, 149ff.
7. S. R. Roy, *A Guide to Vaiśālī Museum*, pp. 16ff.
8. *Annual Report of K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute*, 1961, p. 4.
9. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 121ff.

South Bihar—South of Ganges, Magadha

10. *Pāṭaliputra find.* In excavations at the ancient site of Pāṭaliputra in 1912-13[1] three Kushāṇa copper coins and in 1913-14[2] 52 Kushāṇa copper coins were discovered. None of these coins is described in detail; but Altekar has listed 45 coins of these finds, kept in the Patna Museum. They are: 3 of Wima Kadpises 13 of Kanishka and 30 of Huvishka.[3] In the excavations conducted during 1951-55, 7 Kushāṇa coins were found at this site : 2 belonged to Kanishka, 4 to Huvishka, and one was unattributable.[4]

Chhota Nagpur region—Ancient Jharkhand

11. *Masubazar find.* 281 Purī-Kushāṇa coins were found at Masubazar, 32 miles south of Purulia. They are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[5]

12. *Manbhum District find.* 93 Purī-Kushāṇa coins were found some where in Manbhum district.[6] Most probably this is the same find which P. Acharya has mentioned as the find from Barabhum,[7] a place in this very district.

13. *Kositanr find.* 130 Kushāṇa coins (110 of Kanishka, 19 worn and one unidentifiable) were found at Kositanr in Giridih Sub-division, district Hazaribagh in 1945.[8]

14. *Karra find.* A copper coin of Kanishka is noticed as the find from Karra in Ranchi district.[9]

15. *Kusumbagan find.* In May 1928, 12 Purī-Kushāṇa coins were found at Kusumbagan, near Rakha Hill mines in Singhbhum district. The coins are in the Patna Museum.[10]

16. *Maholia find.* 26 Purī-Kushāṇa coins were found in 1931 at Maholia (Swaspur) in Singhbhum district.[11]

17. *Pindrabera find.* A big hoard of Purī-Kushāṇa coins was found by the side of a river at the village Pindrabera (Sarai-

1. *ASI,AR*, 1912-13, pp. 84ff.
2. *Ibid, (Eastern Circle)*, 1913-14, p. 74.
3. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 144ff.
4. *Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 99.
5. Unpublished. Indian Museum Register No. 6491. Mentioned by S. P. Singh *(op. cit.* p. 134).
6. *Indian Culture*, III, p. 727.
7. *JNSI*, II, p. 124.
8. Treasure Trove Report (*INC*, List No. 81),
9. *JBORS*, V, p. 78, fn. 2.
10. Treasure Trove Report (List No. 2'5).
11. *Ibid.*, (List No. 229).

kela-Kharsawan), district Singhbhum, in 1952. Since most of the coins were rusted and decomposed only 20 coins were acquired by the Patna Museum.[1]

18. *Rakha Hills find.* 363 Purī-Kushāṇa coins were found as a hoard on the northen slope of the Rakha Hills in Singhbhum district in 1917. Three of the coins were inscribed as *Leṅka* or *Taṅka.*[2]

Orissa

19. *Balasore find.* 910 Purī-Kushāṇa coins were discovered in Balasore district. They are now in the Indian Museum Calcutta.[3] One of the coins had the legend as found on a few coins of find No. 18 mentioned above.

20. *Śiśupālgarh find.* 2 Kushāṇa (1 of Kanishka and 1 of Huvishka) and 4 Purī-Kushāṇa coins were found in the Excavations at Śiśupālgarh in Bhubaneshwar in 1948.[4]

21. *Cuttack District find.* 26 Purī-Kushāṇa coins were found somewhere in Cuttuck district in 1931-32.[5]

22. *Kayema Find.* 13 Kushāṇa (Kanishka and Huvishka) coins were found near the foot of Kayema Hills in the Jajpur Sub-division in Cuttuck district.[6]

Purusottampur find. A hoard of Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins was found in the neighbourhood of Purusottampur in Ganjam district in 1858. These coins were studied by W. Elliot.[7]

24. *Jaugada and Gulka finds.* J.D. Beglar had found some Indo-Scythian (Kushāṇa) coins at Jaugada and Gulka near Purusottampur in Ganjam district.[8]

25. *Sitabhanji finds.* 135 Kushāṇa and Purī-Kushāṇa coins were found in a hoard at Sitabhanji in Keonjhar district.[9] Later, L.N. Bhanjadeva of Keonjhar discovered from this area

1. *Ibid.* (List No. 12).
2. *JBORS*, V, pp. 73ff.
3. *ASI,AR*, 1624-25, p. 130.
4. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.
5. Treasure Trove Report (*INC*, VI, No. 4).
6. *OHRJ*, II, pp. 84-93.
7. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1858, pp. 75-78.
8. *CASR*, XIII, p. 116.
9. *JNSI*, II, p 124.

some Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa copper coins.[1] Still later, T. Ramachandran found 5 Purī-Kushāṇa coins here.[2]

26. *Bhanjakia finds.* Three hoards of Kushāṇa and Purī-Kushāṇa coins are known to have been found at Bhanjakia (Panchipidha) in district Mayurbhanj. One was found in 1923; but the exact number of the coins is not known.[3] The second one was found in 1927 and contained 22 Purī-Kushāṇa coins.[4] This find perhaps included two inscribed coins.[5] Later in 1953, 1261 Purī-Kushāṇa coins along with a coin of Kanishka were found.[6]

27. *Nuagaon find.* In May 1939, 105 Purī-Kushāṇa coins were found in a brass pot at Nuagaon, near Joshipur-Bhanjakia in Mayurbhanj district.[7]

28. *Viratnagar find.* Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins were found in excavations at Viratgarh in Khiching in Mayurbhanj district.[8]

29. *Mayurbhanj District find.* R.D. Banerji mentions the find of a hoard of 282 copper coins (112 Kushāṇa and 170 Purī-Kushāṇa) as the discovery from the Mayurbhanj district.[9]

30. *Manika-Patna find.* 84 Kushāṇa and Purī-Knshāna coins were found in a hoard at Gauribari Salt Factory, near Manika-Patna in Puri district in 1893.[10]

31. *Nayagarh State find.* Some Puri-Kushāṇa coins were found in erstwhile Nayagarh State in the last century.[11]

Andhra Pardesh

32. *Bhilingi find.* 100 Puri-Kushāṇa copper coins were found at Bhilingi in Srikakulam district, of which five are published.[12]

1. *OHRJ*, II, p. 85.
2. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 69.
3. *ASI,AR*, 1924-25, pp. 131-32.
4. *INC*, VI, p. 79; T. T. No. 13. The information contained herein seems to be incomplete. The hoard also contained some coins of Kanishka and Huvishka (*BMC, AI*, intro., p. cxxi)
5. *BMC, AI*, intro. p. cxxi.
6. *OHRJ*, II, p. 85.
7. *JNSI*, IX, p. 107.
8. *Ibid*, II, p 124.
9. *History of Orissa*, I, pp. 111-115.
10. *PASB* 1895, pp. 61-65.
11. *Ibid*.
12. *JNSI*, XXXII, pp. 25ff.

Kosala–East Madhya Pradesh and North-East Maharashtra

33. *Kenda Zamindari find*. 25 Kushāṇa copper coins were found in 1922 at the old Kenda Zamindari in Bilaspur district. Almost all the coins were worn out; so, only four belonging to Kanishka and Huvishka were acquired by the Nagpur Museum.[1]

34. *Jhajhapuri find*. Fifteen Kushāṇa copper coins were found by a villager in 1954 in the village Jhajhapuri (Mungeli), district Bilaspur.[2] Two coins of this find are in the Nagpur Museum.

35. *Pendarwa find*. Some Kushāṇa copper coins along with Yaudheya coins were found in 1952 at the village Pendarwa (Chandrapur) in Bilaspur district.[3] They were with the late Pandey Lochan Prasad Sharma.

36. *Tewar (Tripuri) find*. A copper coin of Vāsudeva was found at Tripuri near Jabalpur.[4]

37. *Shahdol find*. A hoard of 757 Kushāṇa copper coins was discovered in 1965 in Shahdol district. It contained 44 coins of Wima Kadphises, 324 of Kanishka, and 362 of Huvishka; the remaining 27 were unidentifiable. All the coins were very much worn.[5]

38. A hoard of 8 Kushaṇa copper coins was found in January 1973 at Village Katangi, Taluka Gondia, district Bilaspur.[6]

Bengal

39. *Tamluk find*. A copper coin of Kanishka was found in 1882 at Tamluk in Midnapur district.[7]

Chatterjee informs that some copper coins of Kushāṇa type, collected from the southern districts of Bengal, were in the Directorate of Archaeology, Bengal.[8] Though the provenance is not properly disclosed, it may be guessed that the coins might have come from some place bordering either the Chhota Nagpur region of Bihar or Orissa.

1. T. T. No. 3 of 1922-23; *JNSI*, XVII, p. 109; *Inventory of the Hoards and finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh*, p. 9.
2. *Ibid*, p. 103; *Ibid*, P. 10.
3. *Ibid*, p. 109; *Ibid*, p. 10.
4. *Ibid*, p. 109, *Ibid*, p. 9.
5. *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 118-119; XXVIII, pp. 1-3,
6. Information supplied by M.K. Hussain of the Directorate of Archaeology, Maharashtra, Bombay.
7. *PASB*, 1882, p. 113.
8. *The Age of the Kushāṇas*, p. 238 fn. 42.

This long list of finds of Kushāṇa numismatic material would apparently suggest that the Kushāṇa rule extended not only over Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, but also over Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and North-Eastern Maharahstra. But at the very outset it should be realised that the finds grouped under categories A and B, being in the nature of ornaments, are no direct evidence for any conclusion related to political history. Any type of coin, without any consideration of time and place, may fascinate people to adopt it as ornament or copy it for the same purpose. It is not necessary that prototype for an amulet or the medallion should be the coin of the period when it was being prepared or of the ruler who was ruling then or in whose domain it was being prepared. It need hardly be said that Romans never came to India as rulers; yet Roman coins found favour with people in this country and they imitated Roman coins in metal and clay and made ornaments with loops, similar to those described above under Catagory A.

At Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā, in Stūpa No. 6, among the relics were found two tiny coin-like gold medallions; each one had two holes at the top like the Sadar-galli medallion One had the effigy of a woman and the other of a young man, both show marked Roman influence.[1] Imitations of Roman coins in clay are known from many sites in India, viz., Śiśupālgarh,[2] Rajghat (Varanasi),[3] Kausāmbi,[4] Ujjain,[5] Karad (district Satara),[6] Brahmapuri (Kolhapur),[7] Kondapur,[8] Chandravalli (Mysore).[9] At some of these places Roman coins were not current.

Similarly, the Venetian ducats or segnins, that came to India by way of trade in the fourteenth century A.D. were also imitated by people for the same purpose. India-made dies for

1. *Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunikonda,* pp. 21-22.
2. *Ancient India,* No. 5, p. 101; Pl. Lb.
3. *JNSI,* III, Pl. V. 17-19.
4. Unpublished in Allahabad Museum.
5. *Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State,* 1938-39, p. 18, Pl. XXVIIIb; *JNSI,* XXXII, p. 201.
6. *Explorations at Karad,* p. 39, Pl. XIV. c-d.
7. *Excavations at Brahmapuri* 1945-46, Pl. XXVIB. 6.
8. *ABORI,* XXII, pp. 179-80, Pl. XIIIb.
9. *Supplement to the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* 1929, p. 29. [To this list may now be added Bhokardan (ancient Bhogavardhana) in the Aurangabad district of Māharashtra *A. M. S.*

making these imitations were found in the Kaira district of Gujarat.[1] An interesting imitation is in the Madras Museum.[2] The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, possesses about a dozen brass imitations of the Venetian ducats with loops at the top.[3] As late as 1882, imitations of the segnins were common at Bombay for ornamental purposes; a large number of women of the lower and middle classes wore them round their necks.[4] Again, silver coins of Shan Alam II were imitated on a large scale and were producad by the Vārāṇasī silversmiths till a few years back; and they were used as necklace by the village women of the surrounding districts. Even now, the gold Gajapati pagoda (Elephant on the obverse and floral scroll on the reverse) is favourite with the South Indian high class women for necklace.

The Kushāṇa amulets and medallions, listed above under the finds of category A, may be the parallel instances. They might or might not have been prepared in the period when the Kushāṇas were ruling in North India. Similarly, they may or may not have been prepared at the places where they have been found or in their vicinity; they might have come from outside through trade.

Very much the same may be said about the use of the original coins as ornaments, the finds of which are mentioned under category B. The Muhars of Akbar may still be seen adoring the necks of village people. It would not be out of place to mention that the Mahārājā of Bharatpur was so much fascinated with the Gupta gold coins when the find of the Bayana hoard was brought before him that he had asked the officer in-charge of his treasury to get their buttons made for him and his retinue; and he got a few buttons made for himself even after knowing their antique value. The Sultanganj find of the looped Gupta and Kushāṇa coins (find 2, Category B) together is by itself an evidence that the Kushāṇa coins were used as ornaments, even at the time when Gupta coins had become current.

Keeping these facts in view, the finds of the categories A and B cannot be cited as a positive evidence of the Kushāṇa rule in Bihar or in its vicinity. They may only be cited as circumstantial evidence,

1. *Indian Antiquary*, II. p. 213.
2. *Catalogue of Venetian Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, pp. 4-5.
3. Unpublished Seen by me, when I was Numismatist there.
4. *Catalogue of Venetian Coins*, p. 4.

3 2 1982

only if there are some other evidences to suggest such a possibility. Even then, let us examine these materials. Of the four finds of Category A and three finds of Category B, only two of the first and one of the second may be taken as having some relevance to the problem before us. The others can have no bearing on it as they relate to the coins which were issued in a period, when no body, not even the champions of the Kushāṇa rule in Bihar, think that Kushāṇas existed, not only in Bihar but even in the major part of their kingdom. The finds (2 and 4 of Category A; 2 and 3 of Category B, relate to Vāsudeva or his successors. Vāsudeva's rule did not extend beyond Mathurā. Altekar himself denies Vāsudeva's rule in Bihar. He thinks that Vāsudeva's coins were brought to Pāṭaliputra by traders and pilgrims in the third century A. D.[1] If the later Kushāṇa coins were coming to Bihar, there is no reason why the coins of the earlier or Imperial Kushāṇas could not come the same way there. The Huvishka medallions might be the results of the same kind of importation. However, on the basis of the Sadar-galli Huvishka amulet Altekar has ventured to suggest that Kushāṇa currency was so common in Bihar that the ladies there had taken fancy for some of its types and ordered goldsmiths to prepare pendants or talismans in imitation of them.[2] If it was so, then we should certainly have the Kushāṇa gold coins in Bihar in abundance; and this should be visible in the finds of Category C, i.e., the actual coins.

But the finds of Category C, known to us, have not more than four such coins from Bihar and the same number is known from Bengal. Here again we find that most of the coins relate to Vāsudeva or his successors. All the Bengal finds relate to Vāsudeva.[3] So they by themselves are no evidence for the rule of Kanishka and Huvishka in Bengal. The same may be said for the finds from Bihar. The Bhagalpur and Pāṭaliputra finds relate to Vāsudeva and Mathia-Puraria find belongs to the Kidāra Kushāṇa, who were almost contemporay with the Gupta rulers in the Punjab.

1. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 146.
2. *Ibid.* XX, p. 3.
3. S. P. Singh suggests the prevalence of Kushāṇa gold currency in the deltaic region of Bengal introduced during the reign of Kanishka, on the basis of the mention of a gold coin called *Caltis* in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. But gold coins of Kanishka or Huvishka are yet to be found there.

Coins of all these finds might have travelled into Bihar, earliest by the third century A. D. Now remains the Monghyr find. The nature of this find is so dubious that it is difficult to admit it for any evidence. We do not know if the coins, seen by Chaudhury with the Monghyr goldsmith, were found within the precincts of Bihar. But even if we admit that the coins were found in Bihar, there is nothing to suggest that they formed a hoard. If they belonged to one and the same source, then the value of this find is lost for the reason that it could not have been buried before the time of Samudragupta, whose coin is there. If the two Kushāṇa coins were found separate from the Gupta coin, even then position remains the same. It is only if we are sure that Huvishka's coin was found alone that it may have some value. But then, does this sole coin of Huvishka testifys Altekar's contention ?

The rule of any king or dynasty in any place is generally admitted by numismatists and historians only when coins are found in substantial quantity and spread over a wide area within the territory, presumed to be under the domain. In the case of the Kushāṇa, in Uttar Pradesh, which undoubtedly formed part of the Kushāṇa dominion under Kanishka and Huvishka, Kushāṇa coins of both the rulers in gold and copper are discovered off and on from every corner of the state and in substantial numbers. Had any part of Bihar been under the Kushāṇas, we should have had the extension of their coins in this region and then there would have been plenty of their coins and not only a single coin at Monghyr or a few ornaments, prepared out of the coins or their imitations, found elsewhere. The absence of the gold coins is most significant in itself; it should be enough to show that the Kushāṇas never penetrated in the east beyond the Ganges.

But not much attention has been given to the paucity of the gold coins; what has been said on the problem, is mostly based on the copper coins. So let us see what the finds of the copper coins, listed under Category D, say on this point.

The list undoubtedly apparently shows that the Kushāṇa coins were scattered over Bihar, Orissa, western Bengal, northern Andhra Pradesh and the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra i. e. Kosala; and there they were found in appreciable numbers. On their basis, Altekar,[1] Adris Banerji,[2]

1. *JNSI*, XII, pp. 121-23; XIII, pp. 144-47; XX, pp. 1-3.
2. *Ibid*, XIII, pp 107ff; *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 294-303.

and now S. P. Singh[1] suggest Kushāṇa rule in Bihar. R. D. Banerji,[2] Dilip Kumar Ganguli[3] and S. C. Behena[4] speculate their rule in Orissa and B. C. Jain hints of the Kushāṇa dominion in Madhya Pradesh.[5] General belief amongst Indian numismatists had been that copper coins do not travel long, while gold and silver coins may be taken, by way of trade, to distant lands without implying any political occupation; the presence of copper coins in any place can only mean a political occupation. This fallacious belief[6] is at work behind these thinkings.

Before these views are analysed, it seems necessary to point out that in ancient days Bihar was not the same as understood today in its political and geographical connotations. There were several states within this geographical boundary before the rise of the Nanda-Maurya empire; and most likely, the same was the case after the decline of the Mauryas. Magadha was one of them and the foremost. It corresponded in the time of the Buddha to the modern district of Patna with the addition of the nothern half of the Gaya District. The boundaries were probably the Ganges to the north, the Sone to the west, a dense forest reaching the plateau of Chhota Nagpur to the south and Aṅga to the east. The river Champā was the boundary between Magadha and Aṅga.[7] But according to Cunningham,[8] Magadha occupied a wider territory, bounded by the Ganges on the north, by the district of Banaras (Vārāṇasī) on the west, Hiraṇya-parvata or Monghyr in the east and by Karnasuvarṇa or Singhbhum on the south. The Tibetan traditions that refer to Kanishka's expedition to Pāṭaliputra, and the Jain traditions that mention Muruṇḍa rule in Pāṭaliputra, would have meant by Pāṭaliputra the state of Magadha, which was so bounded. As such to substantiate these traditions of Kushāṇa rule in Magadha,

1. *Ibid*, XXXV, pp. 127ff.
2. *History of Orissa*, I, pp. 115ff.
3. *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 6-11.
4. *Ibid*, XXXII, pp. 25ff.
5. *Ibid* XXVIII, pp. 1-3.
6. The belief that the find-spots of copper coins are good evidence of rule, because they do not travel far from the place of issue, is unfounded, copper coins must have circulated regularly over all the country served by the mint of issue, which might be very extensive, and a good deal more than that can be determined. (Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 441).
7. *Cambridge History of India*, I, (Delhi, 1955) p. 162, Also see *Buddhist India*, (Calcutta, 1957), p. 12.
8 *Ancient Geography of India*, p, 518.

we should have a large number of coins particularly in this area, as we do have in the Uttar Pradesh. But to our utter dismay, we have only a few copper coins that were found in the excavations at Pāṭaliputra.

The coins found in the excavations in 1912-13 are known to us today out of their context. It is only about the coins found during the excavations in 1951-55 that we know some thing of their context. They were found in the layers that the excavators date between 100 and 300 A.D. But we have no clear indications in the *Report* to know if these coins were found in the layers near to the lower limit of the date or the upper limit. Whatever might be the fact, even if the coins were found in the layers which may be definitely attributed to the early period, contemporaneous to the Kushāṇa rule in Uttar Pradesh, these few coins, found at only one place, could not be accepted as the evidence of the extension of the Kushāṇa rule in Magadha. They would certainly have had some value had we found a few, if not many coins, scattered all over the long stretch of the land between Vārāṇasi and Pāṭaliputra. A complete vacuum in this region tends to suggest only that the coins might have come to Pāṭaliputra, an important centre, by any means other than by the reason of any political dominance.

Altekar had laid great stress on the Buxar find, which was found on the bank of the Ganges, just on the border of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (Magadha in this case). But this hoard also does not disclose any indication of the Kushāṇa rule over the Magadha side of the Ganges. The currency of the coins of a state in the lands of another state, touching the border, is a very common phenomenon. The coins of the erstwhile local state of Gwalior were in common currency outside the state as far as Agra on one side and upto Itarsi on the other. Likewise, even to this day, the coins of Nepal are freely accepted by the people residing in the neighbouring districts in India, situated in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. This is simply for the reason of convenience of the people residing on either side of the borders. This would in no way mean the expansion of the Sindhias upto Agra or Itarsi or that of Nepal into India. Similar could well be the reason for the find of Kushāṇa coins at Buxar on the Ganges. No political significance can be attached to it in absence of any other corroborative evidence.

Besides the complete isolation of the Buxar find from the finds of Pāṭaliputra, a noticeable feature of the Buxar hoard is

that it was not exclusively Kushāṇa. It also contained the coins of the 'Bull and cock type' of the Mitra rulers of Ayodhyā. At Ayodhyā, there was a continuous chain of indigenous rulers from the time of the Śuṅgas till at least the second century A. D. if not later. As such the Kushāṇas and the Mitra rulers were contemporary.[1] It is not expected that the Kushāṇa coins would be current with the local coins in the territories of the Ayodhyā kingdom in the same period. If the coins of the two series are found in a hoard it would only mean (if the hoard is found in the territory of Ayodhyā) that the Kushāṇa coins overlapped the Ayodhyā coins. And the hoards found in the Ayodhyā territory containing the coins of both the series, show that in them Ayodhyā coins are few and the Kushāṇa coins are in pre-dominance.[2] This shows that the Kushāṇa coins ousted the Ayodhyā coins towards the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D. This would in turn mean that the Kushāṇa coins entered Ayodhyā territory only after the fall of the Kushāṇa empire; and as such, the Buxar find has no bearing on the Kushāṇa occupation of Magadha, being dated in the post-Kushāṇa period.

If the hoards of the Kushāṇa coins, found in the territories of the Ayodhyā kingdom, be taken as an indication of the political expansion of the Kushāṇa empire in the latter's territories, then the belief in the date of the accession of Kanishka in 78 A.D will have to be dropped and the event will have to be

1. Altekar thinks that the Mitra kings of Ayadhyā who issued the Bull and Cock type coins, were *most* probably slightly later than the time of Kanishka or Vāsudeva. He places them in the second century A. D. and suggests that they *probably* ruled as the feudatories of the Kushāṇas and were allowed to issue coins (*JNSI*, XII, p. 123). But the suggestion is ridiculous on the face of the fact that the Guptas and Mughals were the two great dynasties of India; but none of them ever allowed any of their feudatories to issue their own coins. Altekar himself has admitted that no Gupta feudatory was ever permitted to mint any coins (*The Gupta-Vākātaka Age*, p. 41, fn. 2). I wonder on what ground then he places this suggestion. Had Kushāṇas any feudatories at Ayodhyā and permitted them to issue their own coins their coins would have been certainly influenced by the Kushāṇa coinage; but the Ayodhyā coins are entirely free from them. This shows that they were entirely independent. [There is one coin of the Standard type Class *III* of Samudragupta, which is supposedly issued by a Kushaṇa feudatory, cf. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 47,52, Pl. II. 11; *J. P. S.*]

2. *JNSI*, XX, pp. 4-5; *IHQ*, XXIX, p. 216.

placed sometime in the second century A.D.[1] But even in that case, the isolated nature of the Buxar hoard would not indicate any expansion of the Kushāṇas in Magadha.

We have thus no numismatic evidence to suggest Kushāṇa rule in Magadha. If Kanishka had any successful expedition against Pāṭaliputra, as Chinese and Tibetan traditions make us believe, it left no scar what-so-ever. They do not bear testimony to the inclusion of Eastern India in the Kushāṇa empire. Similarly, if the Muruṇḍas, mentioned in the Jain traditions, really ruled over Magadha, who-so-ever else they might have been, they could not be the Kushāṇas.

With these facts in the background, if finds of the Kushāṇa copper coins, listed above under Category D, are taken to mean political expansion of the Kushāṇas in the east, they would only suggest that this expansion was two-pronged. One was in the continuation of the Kushāṇa territories in Uttar Pradesh, in the direction of north-east to the north of the river Ganges in the districts of Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga in Bihar (For convenience of reference, this area may be called *North Zone*). The other expansion was towards the south, south of Magadha. It comprised the Jharkhand part of Bihar, Orissa, western Bengal, north–eastern part of Andhra Pradesh, south–western part of Madhya Prodesh and the north eastern part of Maharashtra (i. e. Kosala, this area would be called hereafter in this paper as *South Zone*). There was thus a big gap, which formed an independent kingdom of Magadha, ruled by someone else, between these two zones of the Kushāṇa expansions in the east. The coin–finds further reveal that the southern expansion of the Kushāṇa kingdom was in the nature of an independent pocket, cut off from the main land of the empire, very much in the same way as in recent time we had for some time two Pakistans – east and west.

However, it would be silly to think of any expansion of northern India towards the east without Magadha and also to speak of an East Pakistan-like pocket, separated from the main kingdom, in any period of ancient Indian history. One must bear in mind that had the Kushāṇas occupied the lands on either side

1. This later date is now being suggested by many scholars. Different views on this point were expressed at a Seminar held at London. Its proceedings are published under the title Seminar *papers on the Date of Kanishka.*

of Magadha, there would have been no reason for them to leave Magadha untouched. There was no power which could have prevented them from its occupation. The Kushāṇas would have never left Magadha out of their control.

The absence of the Kushāṇa coins from Magadha is a positive evidence to show the non-existence of the Kushāṇa hold over Magadha; so the presence of their coins on either side of Magadha cannot be accepted as evidence for the political domination of the Kushāṇas over any of the two territories (North and South zones) unless there is something else to support it. Mere theorising that the presence of copper coins means political occupation is not enough.[1] There could be many reasons and occasions, when they could be carried, like gold and silver coins, to distant lands. They all will have to be assessed before arriving at any conclusion of political significance.

In most of the finds of the South Zone, Kushāṇa coins have been found along with the Puri-Kushāṇa coins, which have been variously designated as Oriyā-Kushāṇa or Imitation Kushāṇa. It is, therefore, suggested by some of the scholars that the two series of coins were current in one and the same period. It has also been surmised that during the last phase of the Kushāṇa rule in India, when they were fighting with the forces of the rising Yaudheyas and other tribes in the second or third century A.D. in the Punjab-Rajasthan region, the supply of the Kushāṇa currency in some parts of eastern India became short and inadequate; then the viceroys of the eastern provinces of the Kushāṇa empire were empowered to issue coins in order to meet the shortage of the currency in the region. Thus, it is suggested that this South Zone was ruled by the Kushāṇas through their viceroys and these viceroys issued the Puri-Kushāṇa coins.[2] We have the instance of the Sassanians, who ruled their Indian territories through their governors; and these governors had issued coins. So, this suggestion could have some inklings of possibility, but there is no

1. I am, myself not immune of such belief. I have very much relied on this theory in a number of papers published in the past. But now I feel this is not correct. My papers need careful review in the light of what is being said here

2. S P. Singh (*op, cit.*, pp. 127ff). The idea, however, was mooted originally by Dilip Kumar Ganguly (*JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 11).

evidence to support any such assumption. Had the Puri-Kushāṇa coins been issued by the Kushāṇa viceroys or governors, they should have been found distributed throughout the entire South Zone covered by the finds. The facts available to us show that Puri-Kushāṇa coins are confined only to the finds of Singhbhum district of Bihar, Orissa and a single find in Andhra Pradesh. They are conspicuously absent from all the finds in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar and all the finds of Bengal and Madhya Pradesh.

Again, had these coins been issued by the Kushāṇa governors, they should have been exactly of the type of the Kushāṇa coins and not merely their imitations, having just semblance of the motifs. The Sassanian governors issued coins in their provinces, and they were similar to the coins issued by the Sassanian rulers themselves, and not their imitations in any way. Then, this was the region, where copper mines are known and the metal is available in plenty. There was no need of any austerity; the coins would have been issued not only with the Kushāṇa motifs, but also of the same shape, size and weight. These facts, themselves, speak that they were not issued by any Kushāṇa governor under any Kushāṇa imperial authority.

The Balasore, Rakha Hills and one of the Bhanjakia finds (Nos. 19, 18 and 26 of Category D of the list) had Puri-Kushāṇa coins, which were inscribed. The legend on the coins of Balasore and Bhanjakia finds is nowhere described. The legend on Rakha Hills coins has been read as *leṅka* or *taṅka*; but this reading is uncertain. It is difficult to say if what has been read on the coins meant a denomination or the name of a place or person. However, for our purpose its palaeography is important. On its basis R.D. Banerji dates these coins some time earlier than the seventh century A.D.[1] But J. Allan does not think that the coins are so late. To him, the epigraphy can be parallelled in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription. So, he dates the coins to the end of the third or early fourth century A.D.[2] T.N. Ramachandran places these coins in the fourth century A.D., as he found some coins near or in a rock-shelter, which bears a tempera painting, datable to this

1. *JBORS*, V, p. 180.
2. *BMC, AI*, intro. p. cxii, fn. 2.

period.[1] In the excavations at Sisupalgarh, the Purī–Kushāṇa coins were found in the layers which, according to the *Report*, are datable to 300-350 A.D.[2] Thus Purī–Kushāṇa coins may reasonably and with certainty be placed at the earliest in the fourth century A.D.[3] And by this time, the Kushāṇa rule had dwindled into a small kingdom in the Punjab. So any Kushāṇa viceroy, ruling in this period in far east is a mere imagination.

Therefore, it should be admitted that the Puri–Kushāṇa coins were issued by some local ruler or rulers who had hold over a small territory, confined only to Orissa and the adjoining fringes in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. They borrowed the idea from the motifs of the Kushāṇa coins, then current there; but at the same time they had their own innovations in the matters of technique, fabric and weight. This makes it evident that the Kushāṇa coins were current there during this period or just before it in the third century A.D. Had the Kushāṇa coins been current there from the very beginning of the Kushāṇa rule in India or from the time of Kanishka and had a continued flow upto the third or fourth century A.D., there should have been in these finds, not only the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka but also the coins of Vāsudeva, which are here conspicuously absent. This shows that the coins came to Orissa only when the rule of Vāsudeva had ceased to exist in Uttar Pradesh; and they came there only through trade and travel.

It need hardly be said that at this time Orissa and the adjoining areas were serving as the gateway of India for the sea-farers, who were going regularly to the far-east islands and whose accounts are narrated in stories and other literature. The route to Orissa from the Gangetic valley was not through Pāṭaliputra but from Vārāṇasī through Mirzapur; it went direct to Orissa crossing the Jharkhand region. I am not aware if this route is mentioned anywhere in literature; but in my studies I came to realise this fact from several material sources. While I was working on the

1. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 69.
2. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.
3. Smith had dated the Puri-Kushāṇa coins on his own considerations in the fourth-fifth century A. D. (*IMC*, I, pp. 64-65). P. Acharya has suggested that the Puri-Kushāṇa coins represent the kings of Orissa who flourished in the Gupta period (*JNSI*, II, pp. 125-26).

pre-historic copper hoard objects, I found that these objects are scattered almost all over the districts of Jharkhand and are extended upto Palamau district and then they are seen only in Vārānasī district in the Gangetic valley; and thence they had moved west to the Yamuna-Ganga plains. They are unknown anywhere in Magadha and to its north. Similarly, the finds of the punch-marked coins in southern Bihar show that these are distinctly cut off from their distribution in Magadha and the Gangetic plains and are seen in the Jharkhand region linked up with Vārāṇasī. Lately, a hoard of Mughal coins, discovered in Palamau district, revealed in its contents that the area was more intimately connected with Vārāṇasī than with Patna and Dacca, the principal towns of the Mughal administration. The hoard contained a large number of coins of Banaras mint and the mints to the west; and it had only a few coins or perhaps none of Patna and Dacca mints.

We do not get any trace of the Kushāṇa coins to the east of Vārāṇasī till we reach Orissa or its fringe in Bihar. So, one may pertinently question that if this was the ancient route to Orissa from Vārāṇasī, traces of it should also have been noticeable in the Kushāṇa finds. But then it may well be pointed out that such traces are rarely available to indicate the trade-route. Coins are mostly found suddenly jumped from one area into another. For instance, Roman coins in South India[1] are found without any trace on the whole route; similarly the Kushāṇa coins found in Abyssinia[2] have left no trace anywhere in the way. But perhaps, these would be inappropriate instances to parallel with the present case. So, it may be pointed out that the Bent-bar coins of Gandhāra are known at Kauśāmbī,[3] without any trace all along the long route; similarly, the Local silver punch-marked coins of Śūrasena (Mathurā) *anapada* are known in the distant Śrī Laṅkā (Ceylon).[4] The Indo-Greek coins are known far away from their context in the Hamirpur district in Uttar Pradesh.[5] In all these instances and in many other such instances, the finds of the coins are the results of commercial communications. They show that the coins of a territory are found in another territory when and if the latter is an important trading centre, which in this case Orissa was.

1. P. L. Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh.*
2. *JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 19ff.
3. *Ibid*, XII, p, 81.
4. Coins in Colombo Museum, collected in the Island.
5. *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIII, pp. 217ff.

The North zone, i.e., the districts of Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbbanga in Bihar, where Kushāṇa coins have been found, are so congruous with the main lands of the Kushāṇa empire that their finds could well be taken as the result of political expansion. But that it was not so, is apparent from at least three of the finds. The Laghusā find (Find No. 3) was very much similar to the Buxar find (Find No. 9) in its contents i.e. it had the Kushāṇa coins along with the coins of the Mitra rulers of Ayodhyā; and the find-place also is like-wise almost on the border of Uttar Pradesh. As such, all the observations made in respect of the Buxar find will equally apply to it. It would thus seem that the hoard had entered the Bihar region after the fall of the Kushāṇa empire.

The second is the Lauria Nandangarh find of the year 1937 (Find No. 4b), which included imitations of the Kushāṇa coins of the Punjab type along with the coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas. Here the presence of the Punjab imitations by itself shows that the coins entered the area long after the fall of the Kushāṇas, most likely in the fourth century A. D.

The last but the most important are the coin-finds from Vaiśālī, discovered in the excavations of 1958–62 (Find No. 7). The excavators have admitted in their *Report* that the Kushāṇa coins were found there in the layers of the late period. A reading in between the lines of the *Report* would convince any one that the coins do not belong to the period when the Kushāṇa power was at its height. But the most important evidence that their spade has brought out has been missed even by them. And it is that one of the coins of Wima Kadphises, found in the excavations, is counterstruck with a sign which appears like a bold **S** (**Pl. III. 9**)

This bold **S** sign is the *tamgha* of the rulers of the Afrigian dynasty of Khwarizm (in Central Asia), which had succeded the Kushāṇas there in or about the fourth century A. D. There these rulers had counterstruck the Kushāṇa coins with this **S** sign. Such counterstruck coins have been found there in quite a large number.[1]

1. A number of the finds of such counterstruck coins of the Kushāṇas are known in Central Asia. They are listed in the Numismatic Section of the *Annotated Bibliography of Soviet Central Asian Archaeology and the Kushāṇa Culture* published on the occasion of the International Conference on the History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in Kushana-period, held in 1968 at Dushanbe.

The find of a Kushāṇa coin with the counterstriking symbol of the Afrigian rulers of Khwarizm at Vaiśālī is an unimpeachable evidence not only to show that the Kushāṇa coins at Vaiśālī were current in the fourth century A. D, but also that the *copper coins did travel far and wide*. In this case the Wima Kadphises' coin, counterstruck with the *tamghā* of Afrigian rulers of Central Asia, had travelled all the way from Khwarizm to Vaiśālī, far east in India.

In the light of these facts, it may well be visualised that the coins found in the hoards in the north as well as in the south zone might also have come there in the same way from the Kushāṇa-occupied terrtories in the post-Kushāṇa period. And thus there is no numismatic evidence which could even slightly suggest any Kushāṇa expansion in the east in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa or anywhere else.[1]

The reason for the spread of the Kushāṇa copper coins after the fall of their empire in the Gupta period, is so apparent that it needs no dilation. The Guptas issued gold coins in profusion; but

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1. The numismatic evidence being thus negative, there is no point in discussing the evidences of epigraphy and art, which by themselves are flimsy. No inscription bearing the name of Kanishka or Huvishka has been found in any part of Eastern India beyond Vārāṇasī. The few inscriptions cited by Adris Banerji were in the script, which has been called 'Kushāṇa' by the epigraphists for convenience. This does not mean that it was the exclusive script of Kushāṇa rulers. It only means that the inscriptions were inscribed in the period, when Kushāṇas were ruling in the country and the script was in vogue in that period. Like-wise the few stone sculptures, that are identified as Kushāṇa, found in these regions, are made of red sandstone of Karra and thus are the products imported from Mathura. They mean nothing in the present context. The terracotta figurines, to which reliance is made by some scholars to suggest the Kushāṇa domination in Bihar etc., are actually very much similar to those that are found at many places in Uttar Pradesh. They cannot be distinguished as local product of any place if mixed with those of the Uttar Pradesh finds. So they may not necessarily be local products. Even today, the terracotta figurines of Gaṇeśa and Lakshmī, which are in demand during Dīpāvalī, are imported to Patna and many other places in Bihar from Vārāṇasī. Even if the terracotta figurines be the local products of Bihar, they bear testimony only to cultural contacts of the people and do not have any political meaning.

they were unable to meet the needs of the common people.[1] Their silver coins were few and were confined to Western end Central India and they too come into existence only towards the end of the fourth century A. D. in the time of Chandragupta II. The Kushāṇas themselves had not issued silver coisns. Copper coins of the Guptas were scarce. So, the people who needed small currencies for meeting their needs, in the Gupta period, had no other course than to use the Kushāṇa copper coins, which were profuse and readily available. It is not unlikely that the Kushāṇa copper coins came to these eastern territories through trade not by way of currency but as a commodity of need. The traders might have been selling or exchanging these copper coins at some premium and thus making a good profit for all the troubles they took to bring them from the west.

1. The gold coins were equally profuse in the time of the Mughal emperors; but we know from Tavernier who visited India five times between 1641 and 1668, that the gold coins were not current among the merchants. They were scarcely ever to be met with save the houses of the great nobles (*Travels*, Ed. Ball, I, p. 18). Thevenot, another traveller of the same period, also testifies the same fact. He writes that the gold coins pass not commonly in trade (*Travels*, English Translation of 1687 part III, p. 18). The same would have been true in the time of the Guptas.

RARE TRIBAL COINS OF THE LINGEN COLLECTION

Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta

(Pl. IV)

The present note relates to three rare tribal coins belonging to the collection of J. Lingen of Bergambacht, the Netherlands. I am thankful to Mr. Lingen not only for allowing me to publish these coins, but also for kindly supplying me with their photographs.

Of the coins under study two are the issues of the Audumbaras and the third of the Śibis.[1] The Audumbara coins (**Pl. IV. 1-2**) are struck on silver, bear Brāhmi inscriptions on them and are palaeographically assignable to the first century B.C. They are relavitely in good condition and are reported to have been found at a place between Ambala and Chandigarh sometime in November and December, 1971. The first of them is 15. 5 mm in size and weighs 35.8 grains, while the second is 17.7 grains.[2] Both of them belong to the 'Bull: Elephant' type, known already from a couple of specimens in the British Museum.[3] Incidentally, coins of this type were known so far only from the British Museum specimens and hence the present pieces are very valuable. The British Museum coins, subdivided into two varieties on the ground of the position of the bull, are described below.

Variety A[4]

Obv. Humped bull on right; lotus flower (?) in front. Legend in kharoshṭhī: *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* (around) *Rajarañña* (below).

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1. For the Audumbaras and Śibis and their coinages, see my *A Tribal History of Ancient India: A Numismatic Approach* (henceforth *THAI*), Chs, 4 and 9.
2. Information received from Mr. Lingen, letter dated Bergambacht, 16. 3. 73. He wrote that he purchased four Audumbara coins, including the present ones (all of silver, bearing the word *Mahādeva*), from a dealer who in turn got them from a saraf in Ambala. These coins were found in a hoard comprising the specie of Apollodotus and the Kunindas.
3. J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India*, p. 128, Pl. XIV. 16, 17.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 16.

Rev. Elephant to left; trident on left. Legend in Brāhmī: *Bhagavatamaha(ā)devasa* (around) *Rājarā(ā)ja* (below).

Variety B[1] (Pl. IV. 1)

Obv. Humped bull on left; *nandipada* above. Kharoshṭhī legend as above.

Rev. Same as above, but trident is not very clear. Traces of legend around. Below: *Rājarāja*. (Pl. IV. 2)

Apart from their rarity, the Audumbara coins under notice offer a new variety in respect of the occurrence of the *savstika* symbol 卐 on them. While the obverse of the coin of the Variety *A* has no symbol above the bull, that of Variety *B* bears the *nandipada* symbol. On both the pieces of the Lingen collection, however, *svastika* appears (the second coin, though identical with that of Variety *A* in respect of the position of the bull, shows this additional symbol). In other words, *nandipada* on the coin of Variety *B* is substituted by *svastika* on the present pieces. Besides, on the present specimens lotus may be more clearly recognised than that on the British Museum coins. Thirdly, these coins can claim attention for the dynamic naturalism of the animals depicted on them. Finally, they have strengthened my view, or at least enhanced its probability to a great degree, that *Mahādeva* occurring on them as well as on the British Museum specimens (both silver and copper) stands for the name of a chief of the tribe.[2]

The remaining coin is an issue of the Śibi people (**Pl.IV.3**) and is comparatively well preserved. Struck on copper, it weighs 66.5 grains (4.3. grammes) and is 18.5 mm in size. It bears an inscription *Śibijanapada* (with traces of *Majhamikāya*) in Brāhmī of the third-second century B.C. It was procured in a sarafbazar in Chitorgarh[3]

1. *Ibid*., No. 17.

2. For my view, see *JNSI*, XXXII, pt. II, pp. 160ff. Also *THAI*, pp. 47f. One of my arguments favouring the attribution of copper (the British Museum has seven pieces) and silver coins (the British Museum has two such piecs) bearing the legends *Mahadevasa raña Odubarisa* and *Bhagavata Mahadevasa rajaraña* (in Brāhmī *rājoraj*) respectively to a chief named Mahādeva of the Audumbara tribe was : "It seems rather strange to think that the mint master has systematicaly omitted the name of the issuer and given the title only, used by an anonymous ruler" The present coins (and also the two unpublished coins identical with those of the British Museum added to the existing ones, reinforce this argument.

3. Information received from Mr. Lingen, letter as above, see fn. 2.

not far from Nagarī, the findspot of most of the śibi coins. Specie of the Śibis being generally infrequent, the present one is worth reckoning.[1] The device and symbols occurring on the Śibi coins are bull, six-arched hill with a wavy line below it, tree within or without a square or circular railing, a Brāhmī *ta*-like symbol and *svastika* with a taurine or Brāhmī *ma*-like symbol at each end of its arms. The legend on them is in Brāhmī and reads either *Śibijanapadasa* or *Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa*; the latter, less common than the former, has been restored from different specimens.

The present coin adds a new variety to the existing ones[2] on account of some interesting features. Firstly, the six-arched symbol with undulating line below it appears here with a *nandipada* surmounting it and an additional fillet-like wavy line to the left; this type of arched symbol has not been met with on any Śibi coin so far (and in fact this fillet-like wavy line is unique). Secondly, while the and symbols occur on variety of Śibi coins[3] on the obverse and reverse repectively, both of them appear simultaneously on the obverse of the coin under notice, thus distinguishing it from the one already known. Finally, from the traces of *ya* of *Majhamikāya* it appears that this coin originally carried the elaborate legend, *Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa,* which has been rarely (but in incomplete form) met with.

The three coins of the collection of Mr. Lingen, as described above, thus deserve to be added to the existing corpus of the tribal coins of ancient India.

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1. In 1834 Colonel Stacy obtained two coins of the Śibis at or near Chitor. They remained for nearly 40 years the only specimens of the tribe when in 1827 Carlleyle obtained seven more coins at Tāmbavatī Nagarī or simply Nagar. near Chitor. Subsequently D. R. Bhandarkar and R. L. Samar obtained some more coins in and around Nagarī.
2. I have classified these coins into four varieties, *THAI*, pp. 152f.
3 *Ibid*, p. 153. Also see *JNSI*, IX, p. 83, Pl. nos. 5 and 6.

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LEGEND LICHCHHAVAYAH

A. L. Srivastava

It seems necessary to mention that the coin-type under discussion bears on its obverse the representation of both the king and the queen, face to face, along with their names inscribed as *Chandra* or *Chandragupta* and *Śri Kumāradevī* or *Kumāradeviśri*. On the reverse it depicts the goddess seated on a lion with the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ*. The purpose of this article is to give focus on the probable significance of the legend on the reverse.

Although the opinion of the scholars about the issuer of the coin-type in question is divided,[1] yet all of them (except S. V. Sohoni[2]) are unanimous in accepting it as a coin-type commemorating the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī which was motivated by political considerations. According to this view, Chandragupta I waged a war against the powerful Lichchhavis and, out of some treaty, married Kumāradevī, the heiress of Lichchhavi territories. Chandragupta I was the legal ruler of the Gupta empire and Kumaradevi that of the Lichchhavi dominions. But by virtue of his marriage with Kumāradevī, Chandragupta I also held sway over the land of the Lichchhavis. Since the two heads of the states were united through marriage, their dominions had also to be united under one combined or joint administration. And only then a coin-type was needed to be struck jointly for circulation in both the territories.

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1. J. Allan takes it as a commemorative medal issued by Samudragupta, *(BMC, GD,* Intro. pp. 114-18). This view has been followed by R. D. Banerji *(The Age of the Imperial Guptas,* Benaras, 1933, p. 209). V. S. Pathak (*JNSI*, XIX, pp. 135-42), S Chattopadhyaya (*Early History of Nothern India,* Calcutta, 1958, p. 143) and R. K. Mookrjee (*The Gupta Empire,* Bombay, 1957, p. 14). Acording to A. S. Altekar the coin was issued by Chandragupta I (*JASB, NS,* XLVIII, pp.105ff; *JIH* VI, Suppl., pp. 10ff; *The Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard* (*GGCBH*), pp. xlii ff).

2. *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 146-47

Now as regards the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* A. S. Altekar comes forward with his opinion: "... it is quite probable that one of the terms of the matrimonial alliance between the Guptas and the Lichchhavis may have been that the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī should be not merely a queen consort but a queen regnant.[1]" And since "Kumāradevī was queen by her own right, the proud Lichchhavis, to whose stock she belonged, must have been anxious to retain their individuality in the new imperial state.[2]" His opinion is further supplemented by his explanation of the goddess Siṁhavāhanā on the reverse, who, according to him, might have been the tutelary deity of the Lichchhavis, and as such represented on the reverse of the coin in question.[3] But it has not been substantiated by any evidence. However, from the archaeological finds it appears that the lion—device was popular at Vaiśālī. Aśokan pillar at this place was crowned with the lion capital and the seal of the queen Dhruvasvāminī found here also has the lion emblem.

R. C. Majumdar does not find any other reasonable explanation for the occurrence of the name *Lichchhavayaḥ* on this coin-type[4] V. S. Pathak takes the legends on the obverse and reverse as indicative of the double parentage of Samudragupta both natural and subsidiary, respectively, which he corroborates from the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, wherein Samudragupta introduces himself as *Chandraguptasya Lichchhavi—dauhitrasya Mahādevyāṁ Kumāradevyām utpannasya.*[5] He further says that thus being a *dvāmushyāyaṇa* (one having double parentage), Samudragupta had a title to rule over the amalgamated kingdom of the Lichchhavis and the Guptas, which other princes did not have.[6]

While Pathak connects the legend with the royal house of the Lichchhavis, Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya does not give any importance to the royal house. According to him, Samudragupta was indebted to the Lichchhavi people and not the Lichchhavi royal house, possibly because the former helped him in some of his conquests.[7] He does not even believe that Kumāradevī may nece-

1. *GGCBH*, p. xlii.
2. R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, Delhi, 1960, p. 1.8; A. S. Altekar, *GGCBH*, p. xliv.
3. *Gupta Kālīna Mudrāyen*, Patna, 1954, p. 23; *GGCBH*, p. xlv.
4. *The Vākāṭaka-Gutpa Age*, p. 128.
5. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 141.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Early History of Northern India*, p. 143.

ssarily have belonged to Lichchhavi royal house. She was taken in respect more for her being a Lichchhavi by nationality than for any thing else.[1]

The present writer finds it difficult to agree with any of the above—mentioned opinions. It is generally held that the coin-type was minted for joint circulation.[2] But if the coin was really struck jointly for circulation in both the territories and their rulers were depicted with their names, then it is inexplicable as to why the family name of the Guptas was not given its due place alongwith that of the Lichchhavis? As regards the obverse, it de icts both the royalties of the Guptas and the Lichchhavis. But on the reverse, only the Lichchhavis are given place. Why?

Doubtless, the Gupta territory was quite independent whereas that of the Lichchhavis, if not by law, by matrimonial connection, was virtually under the supreme sovereignty of Chandragupta I. Thus in the political amalgamation the Guptas were the gainers. Under these circumstances, a coin bearing only the name of hte Guptas on its reverse seems more convincing for circulation in both the territories. But we find that the Guptas were not given the equal status. Then, how can the coin-type in question be accepted as having been circulated in both the territories?

The Lichchhavis, according to some scholars, might have helped Chandragupta I in assuming the imperial status,[3] and he must have been feeling obligation to them. But the images and the legends on the coins always depict the legal royalty. Chandragupta I, therefore, out of mere obligation could not have offered his sovereignty to his losing partners by putting their name on his royal currency.

The coin-type in question, as it appears to me, was to be circulated only in the Lichchhavi dominions. It reminds us of many such coins of the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas having their tribal

1. *Ibid*, p. 144.

2. "The pressing logic of the political situation compelled Chandragupta I to remain content with the joint type throughout his reign." *GGCBH*, p. xliii.

3. A. S. Altekar, *Guptakālīna mudrāyen*, p. 22; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

names on them. Most probably the land of the proud Lichchhavis was under the direct rule of its legal heiress, Kumāradevī. A coin of Kumāradevī, as such, was proper for the land.[1] But by virtue of his marriage with Kumāradevī, Chandragupta I had no doubt the sovereign supremacy also over the Lichchhavis, and in order to indicate his sovereign authority, the coin, depicting the legal ruler Kumāradevī, also carried the figure of the emperor Chandragupta I.[2]

The lion device and the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* on the reverse were incorporated to express its exclusive circulation in the Lichchhavi territories. And according to this interpretation the coin-type in question was not a joint one but apparently meant for the land of the Lichchhavis only.

V.S. Agarawala treated it as a coin issued by the Lichchhavis[3] sometime in the reign of Samudragupta. V. S. Pathak raised doubts about its being a Lichchhavi issue on the grounds of its findspots, devices, metallurgy, conventions and sequence, which unequivocally point out that it is a Gupta issue,[4] But the view expressed above appears to be in accordance with both of them. since the coin was issued in the Gupta mint houses of Chandragupta I for circulation only in the Lichchhavi territories.

To sum up, even after the amalgamation of both the territories of the Lichchhavis and the Guptas, necessitated by the matrimonial alliance, the individuality of the Lichchhavi people was maintaioned by the issue of a separate coin. Since Chandragupta I, by virtue of his marriage with Kumāradevī, had the supreme authority also

1. It seems evident from the fact that the name of Kumāradevī is associated with the honorific term *Śrī* while that of Chandragupta is devoid of it. In case the coin was meant for both the territories, the honorific would have also been associated with the name of Chandragupta.

2. P. L. Gupta (*Gupta Sāmrājya*, Varanasi, 1970, pp. 238-40) presupposes how in absence of a son to her father, Kumaradevī inherited the rulership and again till her son attained the youth, the administration of her kingdom was entrusted to her husband Chandragupta I. Here Gupta seems to agree that the coin-type was meant only for Lichchhavi dominion. Cf. R. K. Mookerjee, *The Gupta Empire*, p. 153.

3. *JNSI*, XVII, pp 117-19.

4. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 139.

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over the Lichchhavis, he was also depicted on the obverse. The commemoration of the marriage of their princess Kumaradevi by the Lichchhavis may also be responsible for the depiction of Chandragupta I on the obverse[1]

1. I am grateful to Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri for critically going through the article and offering some useful suggestions. [If we accept the authors suggestion that the coin type in qestion was produced in the Gupta mint for exclusive circulation in the Lichchhavi territory we would be subjecting ourselves to the rather untenable position that while the Gupta mint produced coins for circulation in other states it did not issue any coin for circulation in the dominions of the Guptas themselves during the reign of Chandra gupta I *A. M. S.*]

THE CLASSICAL AUTHORS ON INDIAN COINS AND CURRENCY

Samaresh Bandyopadhyay

The importance of the accounts of the classical authors as a source of ancient Indian history and culture is well known. It is interesting to note that these alien accounts treasure in them much valuable material on Indian coins and currency. Occasional references to some of these notices are found in the writings of scholars on early Indian numismatics, but an attempt to bring together the mass of information preserved in the writings of those foreigners and to evaluate the available data with the aid of other sources does not seem to have as yet attracted sufficient attention of scholars. The importance of such a study can hardly be undervalued since the evidence supplied by those foreign writers bears a special significance as the dates of most of them are known with a tolerable degree of certainty.

It is recorded by Herodotus (born between 490 and 480 B. C. in his famous book *The Historica* that India, the twentieth satrapy under Darius, son of Hystaspes, paid as annual tribute 360 euboic talents of gold—dust (equivalent to one million sterling).[1] This has been taken to indicate that 'even in the sixth century B. C. the dust or ingots of gold and other metals, calculated by weight served the purpose of higher currency'.[2] But, though no reference to coin proper is found in the statement of Herodotus, much information on the same has been left by other classical authors in their accou-

1. R. C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India (CAI)*, p. 1.
2. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, and A. D. Pusalkar Bombay, 1951, p. 607. No gold coin of India of the time of Herodotus has hitherto come to light. Excavations at Eran have yielded an interesting thin round gold piece from the late chalcolithic level assignable to *circa* 1000 B. C. Although well cut in circular from the piece does not contain symbols nor does it indicate any clear sign to infer that it was worn as an ornament (cf. *The Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins*, ed. A.K. Narain and L. Gopal, Varanasi, 1966, p. 40).

nts. Thus, while describing[1] the reception accorded by Omphis[2], the king of Taxila, to Alexander the Great on his arrival at Taxila, Quintus Curtius, who flourished during the reign of the Roman Emperor Claudius (A. D. 41-54), states that Alexander and his friends were presented with golden crowns and eighty talents of coined silver.[3] Plutarch (*c.* A. D. 46-120), also states that Alexander, after having received various presents from Taxiles,[4] 'and giving him more in return, at last drank to his health, and accompanied the toast with the present of a thousand talents of coined money.'[5] Plutarch, however, does not specify the metal of the coin. The combined testimony of Quintus Curtius and Plutarch, if relied on, totally buries all the theories ascribing the origin of Indian coinage to the post-Alexandrian period. Moreover, the evidence supplied by Quintus Curtius shows that though gold was not unavailable only silver coins, and no gold ones, are referred to, and this obviously leads to the strong supposition, if not conviction that the standard currency at Taxila in the fourth century B. C. was of silver.[7] This seems probable from the fact that the silver punch-marked coins, generally believed to have been known in early times by the name *kārshāpaṇa*, though the name was also applied to coins of metals other than silver, are referred to by Pāṇini who not only mentions *kārshāpaṇa* or *paṇa* with its different subdivisions[6] and the purchase of articles for one or the other of these coins but also refers to large sums of money not specifying the coin-name which was most probably *kārshāpaṇa*, the standard silver coin of his time.[7] As Cunningham points out, 'the Sanskrit form of

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1. Majumdar, *CAI*, p. 115.
2. His subjects called him Taxiles, for such was the name which went with the sovereignty, on whomsoever it devolved (*Ibid.* p. 114).
3. *argenti signati lxxx talenta*; A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. i, 52; V. A. Smith, *CCIM*, p. 135.
4. Majumdar, *CAI*, p. 195.
5. R. B. Whitehead, *The Pre-Mohamadan Coinage of North Western India*, p. 42; E. Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 43; S. K. Chakrabortty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismaties (AIN)*, p. 23 note 27.
6. V. 1. 19-37; cf. V.S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 258-73; A. S. Altekar, *JNSI*, XV, pp. 33ff.
7. V. 1. 27, 34; cf also *JNSI*. XV, pp. 31-32; *The Chronology of Punch-Marked Coins*, p. 114. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* contains innumerable references to silver punch- marked coins of four denominations, viz., *paṇa, ardha-paṇa, pāda* and *ashṭa-bhāga*, and also to copper punch-marked coins known as *māshaka, ardha māshaka-kākaṇī* and *ardha-kākaṇī*.

Kārshāpaṇa is preserved in the 'korsipion' of Hesychius. He, however, takes the reference of Hesychius to mean the coins of the time of the Guptas.[1]

It is also stated by Quintus Curtius that 'near the junction of the Five Punjab rivers' Alexander received from the Oxydracae and Malli, a present of 100 talents of white iron (*ferri candidi*).' This 'white iron' may be either tin or nickel according to Cunningham. But, as tin is a soft metal and therefore not suitable for currency and as the Greeks were quite familiar with it, they would not have referred to it as 'white iron'. On the contrary, nickel, thinks Cunningham, "is hard and magnetic as well as white, and as it was not known to the Greeks, they could justly call it 'white iron." Thus, in his opinion, nickel was used for the purposes of currency by the Kshudrakas and Mālavas who were contemporary with Alaxander the Great, much before the time of the Indo—Greek kings, the nickel coins of some of whom including those of Euthydemos, Agathocles and Pantaleon have come to light.[2] D. R. Bhandarkar[3] and A. N. Bose[4] seem to support Cunningham's contention. W. H. Schoff has, however, identified the *ferrum candidum* with fine steel used for swords and mirrors for which India had reputation as is known from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*,[5] a work generally assigned to the second half of the first century A. D. Moreover, as S. K. Chakrabortty points out, no nickel coin of any indigenous tribe or king has been discovered so far.

The author of the *Periplus* states that 'to the present day ancient *drachmas* (coins) are current in Barygaza, coming from this country, bearing inscriptions in Greek letters and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, viz., Apollodotus and Menander.'[7] This evidence is of considerable importance for it provides a clue to trace a link between the size, fabric and weight standard

1. *Op.cit.*, pp. 2, 42.
2. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, 1921, p.143.
3. *Op.cit*, p. 144.
4. A.N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, II, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1967, p. 134.
5. Eng. Tran., W. H. Schoff, p. 70; D. C. Sircar (*JAIH*, V. p. 455), also does not believe that any coin is referred to in the passage of Quintus Curtius.
6. *Op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.
7. Section 47 of the *Periplus* (Eng. Tran., W. H. Schoff, pp. 41-42; Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Cos. Geog. Ear. Ind, Lit*, p. 114); Cf. also Majumdar, *CAI*, p. 303.

of the *hemidrachms* of these Graeco-Indian kings and those of the same coins of the Kshaharata Kshatrapa Nahapana (*c.* A.D. 119-25), the silver coins of whom in these regards set a standard that was followed by the Kardamaka Kshatrapas for more than two hundred and fifty years, and later on by their successors, the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas.[1] Further importance of the testimony of the *Periplus* lies in the fact that it is an additional source in favour of the theory that coins once minted remained in circulation in the Indian market even centuries after their issue. The theory is based on the evidence of certain indigenous literary texts like the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosha, as pointed out by D. C. Sircar,[2] the *Aṅgavijjā*[3] and the *Nāradasmṛiti*,[4] as we have shown elsewhere, and also on the discovery of punch-marked coins during archaeological excavations at different sites, especially at Tripuri[5] (Madhya Pradesh) Kumrahar[6] (Bihar) and Sisupalgarh[7] (Orissa), the last mentioned place also yielding moulds for producing punch-marked coins at levels attributable to *c.* 300 A. D.[8]

Another interesting information known from the *Periplus* is that in section 56 it speaks of the import of a great quantity of coins and in section 49 it states that the imports to Barygaza included gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for

1. E. J. Rapson, *BMC, AWK*, pp. cviii, clxxiv; cf. *Buddhistic Studies*, ed. B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 398-99.
2. *Studies in Indian Coins (SIC)*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 103-04.
3. Cf. S. Bandyopadhyay in *JAIH*, I, p. 36; *Ibid*, p. 188.
4. Cf. S. Bandyopadhyay's article Early Indian Coinage and the Commercial Community, *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, ed. A. M. Shastri (under publication). Nārada quoted in the *Vācaspatya*, says that *kārshāpaṇa* was widely used in South India (*kārshāpaṇo dakssiṇasyāṁ diśi raupyaḥ pravartate*). Many hoards of silver punch marked coins have been discovered in the southern part of India (cf. *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, ed. D.C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1970, p.50 note).
5. *The Chronology of Punch-Marked Coins*, p. 28; cf. also M. G. Dikshit, *Excavations at Tripuri*, 1952.
6. *The Chronology of Punch-Marked Coins*, pp. 29, 139; A. S. Altekar and V. Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, Patna, 1959, pp. 18-20, 86-91.
7. *The Chronology of Punch-Marked Coins*, pp. 29, 139; B. B. Lal, 'Sisupalgarh 1948: An Early Historical Fort in Eastern India, *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 95-97.
8. *Ibid*, p. 99. Recent excavations at Eran have also yielded punch-marked coin-moulds as K. D. Bajpai informed us at a lecture delivered on 4 9. 1973, at the University of Calcutta.

the money of the country. The import of coins to India at a much later date is also known from the Arab historian Abu Zaid (before 916 A. D.) who states that in former times *dīnārs* of Sind, each of which is worth three and a fraction of the ordinary *dīnars*, were brought into India.[1] That the author of the *Periplus* was referring to the actual state of things in his time is apparent from the fact that the Roman author Pliny (*c.* A.D. 23-79) also complains that 'in no year does India drain less than 550000000 *sesterces* giving back her own wares which are sold among us at fully hundred times their first cost.'[2] In later times also, the foreigners are found deploring the exportation of their coins in exchange for Indian products. The Venetians, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English had all in their turn lamented at the fact that in exchange for Indian goods they had to export huge quantities of their coins. In the 17th century Surat alone, 'received by way of the Persian Gulf alone half a million *sterling* per annum in specie.'[3] However, the statements of Pliny and the author of the *Periplus* are of great value as they throw welcome light on the coinage of India during their days. As Cunningham[4] observes, 'a large portion of the Roman gold *denari* imported at Barygaza must have been carried to the Punjab, where they were recoined as *dīnārs* by the Kushāṇa emperors' whose gold coins having the same weight as those of the early Caesars have been found in large quantities. In south India, according to Cunningham. 'the Roman gold coin was not recoined but remained in circulation in Company with the punch-marked silver coins.' Cunningham's hypothesis gets a good grounding from the fact that in many hoards[5] Roman coins have been found along with punch-

1. Elliot and Dowson, *HIED*, I, p. 11.
2. Cf. Sircar *SIC*, p. 294; also Majumdar, *CAI*, p. 338. A large number of Roman coins belonging to the Imperial period have been found in India (Cf. Sewell, *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 591-637). We are thankful to B. N. Mukherjee for drawing our attention to the traffic, 'buying up' or 'purchase' (in coins) of the wares sent from India and China referred to by Ammianus Marcellinus (*Rerum Gestarum*, XIV. 3.3. But it is difficult to be certain as to whether the evidence can be taken to refer to Indian coins, since here the 'traffic' or 'purchase of' the wares from India and China have been referred to.
3. W. W. Hunter. *Annals of Rural Bengal*. p. 304; Sircar *SIC*, p. 294.
4. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Śakas and Kushāṇas*, Varanasi, 1971, p. 22
5. P. L. Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*, p. 43, No. 28, p. 44, No 35.

marked coins and, what is more, punches analogous to those on local punch-marked coins are noticeable on a number of Roman silver coins from South Indian hoards, as pointed out by P. L. Gupta.[1]

According to Schoff, 'the profit on the exchange' referred to by the *Periplus*, 'was due to the superiority of the Roman coinage to that of India, which latter was still crude, of base metal (bronze or lead) for which even the bullion (copper, tin and lead) was imported'.[2] References to silver coins of a date earlier than the time of the *Periplus* have, however, been made above, and it is stimulating to note that the *Periplus* itself refers to a gold coin called *caltis* which was in circulation in the market town of Ganges situated on the river Ganges in the country called Ganges.[3] According to Cunningham *caltis* current in the deltaic region of Lower Bengal as known from the *Periplus*, 'seems to be the same as '*kalutti* of Malayālam, the *karanda* of Ceylon, and the *kalañju* of South India,' and he identifies the *caltis* with gold *hūn* of South India, the average weight of which is about·52 grains.[4] D. C. Sircar thinks that the name is the Greek modification of an east Indian corruption of Scytho–Kushāṇa word meaning 'a coin' or 'a gold (coin).'[5] The gold coins of the Kushāṇas and their imitations have been discovered from different places of Eastern India,[6] and a suggestion is made to identify the *caltis* with the Kushāṇa gold currency.[7]

A passage in the work of Philostratus (born *c.* A.D. 172) entitled *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, according to some scholars, states that the people who lived between the Indian Caucasus, the River

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 70; Cf. also *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, ed. Sircar. p. 133.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Eng. Tran., Schoff. p. 48
4. *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 2-49.
   [It is interesting to note in this regard that the coin name *Ka'tis*, according to yet another view, is derived from the Assamese word *Kalita*-meaning numbered (cf. P. C. Choudhury, *The History of Civilisation of the people of Assam to the Twelfth. Century A. D* (Gauhati, 1959), pp. 31, 108, 388). But the suggestion, based on this derivation, that these coins were perhaps issued by ancient Kalitas of Assam as rulers, is purely conjectural and unconvincing. *J. P. S.*]
5. *Some Problems of Kushāṇa and Rājput History*, Calcutta Universsity, 1969, p. 64.
6. *Ibid.* pp. 58-59.
7. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 45; *Some Problems of Kushāṇa and Rajput History*, p. 64.

Kophen and Taxila had a coinage not of gold or silver but of orichalcum and black brass, with which all who came to the land of the Indians must purchase everything[1] · Certain facts, however, require to be considered if this interpretation of the passage is adopted.[2] Rodgers acquired in the Punjab five coins (provenance not known) of a Later Kushāṇa king whose name has been differently read as Bāsata (Cunningham's earlier reading), Pasata. Pasana (Rodgers), and Basana (Cunningham's revised reading accepted by Smith). Of the five coins one[3] 'though ordinarily would appear to be of very debased gold, was composed of brass,' as stated by Smith. The weight of the brass coin of Basana,[4] who has tentatively been ascribed on numismatic grounds to *c.* 280–310 A. D. is 65.65 grains. In 1951, C. D. Chatterjee came across a brass coin of Chandragupta II (*c.* 376–414 A. D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty in the collection of a coin-dealer in Lucknow. The coin, alleged to have come from Misrikh, situated near the ancient site of Naimishāraṇya (modern Nimsar in the Sitapur District, U.P.) weighs 62.75 grains, the difference between the two brass coins being, therefore, 2. 9 grains. 'Since both the coins are of the very same metal which was not used for currency purpose at least from B. C. 320, if not earlier, and bear almost the same weight and since both of them were in circulation at least during the last quarter of the fourth century A. D. the only conclusion that a numismatist would naturally draw', according to Chatterjee, 'is that they were struck

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1. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, II, 7; *JNSI*. XXX, p. 45 note 6.
2. B. N. Mukherjee, as he personally tells me, thinks that the passage refers to billon (i. e. an alloy of silver and copper) and copper coins. If it really so does, is it possible that the black copper coins referred to by Philostratus are the same as *kāla-kahāpaṇes* mentioned by Buddhaghosha (Cf. *Dhammapaddhakathā*, III, 254; P. T. S. *Pali-English Dictionary*, s. v. *kahāpana*, also Sircar, *SIC*, p. 100) in the fifth century A.D. ? However, as we may point out if *orichaleos* of the passage is believed to mean some kind of copper then the interpretation of *kalkou melanes* as 'black brass' does not seem unjustified.
3. The other four coins are of the same quality of gold as of the Later Kushāṇa gold coins, the maximum weight recorded being 121. 4 grains. Another gold coin of the same king was discoverd by Cunningham at Kutanwala Pind on the western side of the Salt Range in West Punjab (*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, V, p. 93). In the collection of a coin-dealer in London, Smith also noticed some gold coins of the same king (*JRAS*, 1893 p. 146).
4. Cf. *JRAS*, 1893, p. 146.

on the basis of the same standard.'[1] Analysing the data in ancient Indian literary texts, Chatterjee opines that the circulation of brass coins in the period extending from *c*. 600 to 400 B.C. 'is an established fact in the numismatic history of India.' But as he further points out,' the absence of literary and archaeological evidence relating to the brass currency in the period extending from *c*. 400 B. C. to 280 A. D., gives rise to the suppositon that it did not find favour with the kings and trible chiefs, because of the extensive use of brass in domestic life, and in consequence of that, its constant demand in the market.' This is apparent from the fact that literary texts, including the *Arthaśāstra*, of the period, although speak of the manufacture and use of brass, do not refer to its utility in minting coins.[2] However, if Philostratus really referred to the brass coins in his work which was published in or sometime after 217 A. D. then it may be admitted that in the writings of a foreigner evidence for the existence of brass coins in India can be traced and that the span of the period during whcih Chatterjee has not been able to trace a reference of brass coins requires to be reduced by at least fifty years. As regards the archaeological evidence of brass coins for the period from *c*. 400 B. C. to 280 A. D., it may be interesting to note that brass has been found used in certain cast or die-struck coins, rectangular, square or circular in shape, issued by kings and tribal chiefs who flourished in the western parts of northern and different parts of central India in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era.[3]

Besides the information on metallic currency outlitned above some light on barter is also thrown by Pausanius who belonged to the age of the Antonines. According to him, 'traders to India tell us that the Indians give their own wares in exchange for those of the Greeks without employing money even though they have gold and

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1. *JUPHS*, V, (New Series) Pt. II, p. 112.
2. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, I. p. 205.
3. Cf. Smith, *CIM*, pp. 148-50, rectangular cast coins of Dhanadeva and Sivadatta (Nos. 4. 10-11, No.9, a coin of Sivadatta descriled as of pale bronze or brass) and circular die-struck coin (No. 16) of Ajavarman of Ayodhya *Ibid*. p. 154, circular coin with 'animal motif' of Avanti (No. 23); *Ibid*, p. 155, circular coin of Aśvaghosha of Kosam (No. 2); *Ibid*, p. 166 circular coin of the Audumbara chief Mahīmitra (No.1); *Ibid*. pp. 168-68, circular

copper in abundance.'[1] The passage is interesting as it shows that besides local transactions barter, which still plays a signficant part in Indian economy, was popular in foreign trade as late as the time of the Antonines, and the notion that metallic currency supplanted traffic by barter[2] hardly appears to be justified.

Kuṇinda coins with (Nos.10-12, .6) or without (No. 30) legend; *ibid*, p. 181, anonymous circular coin of brass or similar alloy of the Yaudheyas (Nos. 5-7); *ibid* , p. 186, circular coins of Agnimitra (Nos.2-6) and Bhūmimitra (No.2) of Pañchāla; *ibid*, pp. 192-93, circular coins of Prushadatta (No .2), Bhavadatta (No.1) and Uttamadatta (No.1) of Mathurā; *ibid*, pp. 194-95, uncertain circular coins (Nos; 3, 8), *ibid*, p. 196, circular coin of the *Kshatrapa* Hagāmāsha of Mathura (No.10); *ibid*., p. 201. uniscribed rectangular cast coin (No. 30); *ibid*, p 203, anonymous circular cast coin (No.19); *ibid*., p. 204, uninscribed circular die-struck coin (No.11); *ibid*, p. 205, inscribed circular die-struck coins (Nos. 2, 5); *ibid*, pp. 206-07, circular die-struck coins with the legend *devas* (Nos. 1-8).

1, Majumdar, *CAI*, p. 450

.2 Cf. Bose. *Op. cit*, II. p 124; Sircar, *SIC*, p. 2.

COINS IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALAS AND SENAS OF EASTERN INDIA

D. C. Sircar

It is well known that Sena copper-plate inscriptions often mention the Kapardka-purāṇa. Thus the Barrackpur plate of Vijayasena registers a grant of 4 *pāṭakas* of land described as *kapardaka-purāṇa-śata-dvay-otpatti*, i. e. yielding an income of 200 Kapardaka-purāṇas apparently per year.[1] Likewise, the gift land is described in the Anulia plate of Lakshmaṇasena as *saṁvatsareṇa kapardaka-purāṇa-śat-aik-otpattika* (yielding one hundred Kapardaka purāṇas annually)[2] and in the Tarpandighi plate of the same king as *saṁvatsareṇa kapardaka-purāṇa-sārdh-śat aik otapattika* (yieding an annual [income of] 150 Kapardaka-puraṇas)[3] etc. There are similar passages in other Sena charters.[4] The mention of the annual revenue income in Kapardaka-purāṇa was so well established that the passage was easily intelligible even if it was omitted in the expression concerned and was actually so omitted in some cases. Thus the Saktipur plate of Lakshmaṇasena has *saṁvatsareṇa sārdha-śatadvay-otpattika* and *saṁvatsareṇa pañcha-śat-otpattika* in which Kapardakapurāṇa, which is not speeifically mentioned, has to be understood.[5]

At the same time, it must also be well known to the students of early Indian numismatics that D. R. Bhandarkar regarded the Kapardaka-Purāṇa to be a Purāṇa (i.e. the coin of that name) which was shaped like a Kapardaka or cowrie-shell,[6] though it is

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1. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 57ff., text lines 33-34-
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 81ff. text line 38.
3. *Ibid* , pp. 99ff., text lines 37-38.
4. See Madhainagar plate, line 43 (*ibid* , pp. 112, 194—where *kapardak-āsh/a-shashṭi-purāṇ-ādhika-śata-mūly-otpattika* is no doubt a mistake for *kapardaka-purāṇ-āshaṭa-shashṭy-adhika-śata-muly-otpattika)* and Bhowal plate, line 42 (EI, XXVI, p. 9).
5. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 218, text lines 30, 33-34 and 36.
6 *Ancient Indian Numismatics* (Carmichael Lectures, 1921), p. 139; Reprint Part II, p. 12.

now believed that it was really the standard silver money counted in cowrie-shells just as the Paṇa purāṇa of a Nepal inscription was the silver coin counted in copper coins called Paṇa.[1] It appears therefore that minted coins were not abundant in the Sena empire and that the monetary transactions were carried generally in cowrie-shells although the calculations were made in terms of the silver Purāṇa which was regarded as the standard coin.

Some years ago, I read an interesting coin name in two Sena inscriptions, the passages in question having not been read and understood correctly by previous writers. These epigraphs are the Madanpada and Vangiya Sahitya Parishad plates of king Viśvarūpasena (c 1206–20 A.D.). Three passages in the two records were read, e. g., by N. G. Majumdar as *dvatriṁśat-purāṇ-ottaratri (tri)-śatika 132,*[2] *saptaviṁśati-purāṇ-adhika-sach hhittā (?) –shat-śatik-otpattika* and *sāṁ chūrṇā pañcha śatika bhūmi.*[4] Needless to say that Majumdar's translation of all the passages is unsatisfactory.[5] I pointed out that the correct reading of the three passages is *sāṁ-dvātriṁśat purāṇ-ottara-chūrṇṇi-śat-aika 132,*[6] *saptaviṁśati-purāṇ-ādhika-sāṁ-chūrṇṇi-shat-śatik-otpattika*[7] and *sāṁ-chūrṇṇi pañcha-śatika,*[8] meaning respectively "yielding annually (*sāṁ=sāṁvatsarika*) 100 Chūrṇīs together with 32 Purāṇas—132 in figures", "annually yielding 600 Chūrṇīs together with 27 Purāṇas" and "yielding 500 Chūrṇīs annually." That Chūrṇī is just another name of Purāṇa is clearly indicated by the first of the three instances, in which 100 Churṇīs and 32 Purāṇas are stated to make 132 coins. There are other evidences in support of the identification of Chūrṇī and Purāṇa. Thus, the Mehar plate of Dāmodara dated 1234 A.D., mentions both Purāṇa (lines 17–18) and Churṇī (line 3?) in the same sense.[9] As I had occasion to point out, an

1. See Sircar in *JAIH*, p. 452, note; cf. *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 16. *Paṇapurāṇa* is the same as '*paṇa-nibaddha purāṇa* prevalent in the east' mentioned by Nārada (Pariśishṭa, verse 57).
2. *Inscripti ns of Bengal*, p. 137, text line 44. His reading really means 332 coins insted of 132 given in figures.
3. *Loc.cit.*, text line 45.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 147. text line 59.
5. *Ibid.*, pp 128, 179–80.
6. *JAS*, Calcutta, XX, 1954, p. 216.
7. *Loc.cit.*
8. *Ibid.*, p.207.
9. *E.I*, XXVII, pp. 88-89; cf. p. 19, note 5

inscription form Alagum in the Puri District of Orissa, belonging to the reign of the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and dated in 1141 A.D., records the donation of *pañcha-purāṇ-ādhika-chūrṇṇī-śat-aika* in words (in lines 19-20) and *pu* (i.e. *purāṇa*) *105* in figures (*aṅke—'pi*) in line 24.[1] It was also pointed out that, according to Oriya lexicons, both Chūrṇī and Purāṇa are synonyms of Kāhāṇa (Sanskrit *Kārshāpaṇa*) which was equal to 1280 cowrie-shells.[2] The explanation of Chūrṇī in the Oriya lexicons as *Kāhāṇaparimita-kauḍi* would suggest that it was the same as Kapardakapurāṇa or Purāṇa counted in cowrie-shell.

A study of Pāla inscriptions appears to suggest that minted coins were more abundant in the earlier days of the Pāla empire, but that monetary transactions were often carried in cowrie-shells in the age of the Later Pālas, which corresponded to the Sena period.

The Bodhgaya (Gaya District, Bihar) stone inecription of the 26th regnal year of Dharmapāla (c. 770–810 A. D.), correspo-nding roughly to about 795 A. D., speaks of the excavation of a tank by spending three thousand Drammas (*tritayena sahasreṇa drammāṇāṁ*).[4] Likewise the Bhaturiya (Rajshahi District, Bangladesh) stone inscription of Rājyapāla (c. 911–35 A. D.) states that the king dedicated the village of Madhusrava in favour of the god Vṛishabhadhvaja (i. e. Śiva), installed by his *Mantrin* Yaśodatta, after having fixed the *nikara* or concessional tax at one hundred Purāṇas apparently per annum.[5] In the same way, the Gaya inscription mentioning the name of Govindapāla, which is dated in the year 1175 A. D , states that a Brāhmaṇa named Vidyādhara created an endowment by depositing in the Gadā-dhara temple 50 Kārshāpaṇas at an annual interest of 32 per cent for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas at the temple on Āśvina-sudi 5 every year.[6]

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1. *Ibid.*, XXIX, p. 48; cf. pp. 44-45.
2. *Ibid* , p. 44.
3. In later times one Chūrṇī consisted of 100 cowries only. See Malayalam *Chūrṇī* in Wilson's Glossary.
4. See Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 29ff. text lines 5-6.
5. *EI*, XXXIII, p. 154, text line 16.
6. *Ibid.* XXXV, p. 336.

In the earlier two of the above three Pāla inscriptions, there is no trace of the Kapardaka, so that no mecessity was as yet felt, it seems, to authenticate the payment of amounts by cowrie-shells in approved numbers. According to the *Līlāvatī* (I. 2) by Bhāskarāchārya of Maharashtra, who is stated to have been born in 1114 A D., 20 cowrie shells = 1 Kākiṇī, 4 Kākiṇīs = 1 Paṇa, 16 Paṇas = 1 Dramma and 16 Drammas = 1 Nishka,[1] while according to certain medieval arithmetical tables current in Bengal, 4 cowrie-shells = 1 Gaṇḍā, 20 Gaṇḍās = 1 Paṇa, 16 Paṇas = 1 Kāhaṇa (i. e. Kārshāpaṇa).[2] The same relation between the Gaṇḍaka (Gaṇḍā) and the standard silver money is supported by the Nilachal plate of Mādhava who flourished in Assam in the 15th century.[3] Again, according to a quotation in Utpala's commentary (tenth century) on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatasaṁhitā* (79. 12-13), 20 cowrie-shells = 1 Kākiṇī, 4 Kākiṇīs = 1 Chaturtha, 4 Chaturthas = 1 Purāṇa also called Kārshāpaṇa (said to be sometimes regarded as equal to 20 Paṇas instead of 16 Paṇas).[4]

It will be seen that the early medieval Dramma of a literary record of Western India and the late medieval Kāhaṇa or Kārshāpaṇa of Eastern India, another early medieval author calling apparently the same coin both Purāṇa and Kārshāpaṇa, are all of them represented as equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. Moreover, apparently the same standard silver coin is mentioned as Dramma in the Bodh gaya inscription and as Purāṇa in the Bhaturiya epigraph, both coming from the Pāla empire of the Bihar-Bengal region and belonging to the early medieval period. The same again seems

1. cf. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*.p. 281:
varāṭakānāṁ daśaka-dvayaṁ yat
sā kākiṇī tāś-cha paṇaś-chatasraḥ,
te soḍaśa dramma ih-āvagamyo
drammais-tathā sodaśabhiś-cha nishkḥ.
2. *Ibid* , p. 28.
3. *JAIH*, II, p 74. In this record, 320 Gaṇḍakas or Gaṇḍās (i.e. 1280 cowrie shells) are counted as equal to one silver coin while 800 Gaṇḍakas are mentioned as equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ silver coins.
4. Ed. S. Dvivedi, p. 187 :
viṁśatiḥ śvetikā proktā kākiṇ y-ekā-vichakshaṇaiḥ
tac-chatushkaṁ paṇa iti chaturthaṁ tach-chatushṭayam.
chaturthaka-chatushkaṁ tu purāṇa- iti kathyate
kārshapṇaḥ sa ev-oktaḥ kvachit- tu paṇa- viṁśatiḥ.

to be called Kārshāpaṇa in the Later Pāla record from Gaya. It is no doubt difficult to believe that, in that age and area which were not characterised by an abundance of minted coins, there should have been several standard coins in the same metal and in some cases stated to be of the same value in cowrie-shells. The identity of Dramma and Purāṇa is also supported by Siṁhatilaka-sūri's commentary (14th century) on Śrīpati's *Gaṇitatilaka* (10th or 11th century) according to which 16 Paṇas=1 Dramma, also called Purāṇa, in the *Triśatī*.[1]

It has to be noted in this contection that the silver coins of the modified standard of about 36 grains issued by Apollodotus and Menander are called in Greek *Drachma* (whence Indian *Dramma* was derived) in the *Periplus*.[2] Their imitation issued by the Śakas of Western India was called *Karshapaṇa*[3] and similar issues of the Guptas[4] and the Kalachuris[5] were called Rūpaka. The identity of the Dramma and Rūpaka is suggested by the Siyadoni inscriptions and Vishṇusheṇa's charter, the former representing Viṁśopaka as $\frac{1}{20}$ of the Dramma and the latter making the same coin $\frac{1}{20}$ of the Rūpaka.[6] We have elsewhere tried to show that the theoretical weight of such silver coins was 24 Ratis, but that their actual weight was not more than 20 Ratis.[7] It appears that the same coin has been called Dharaṇa wieghing 24 Ratis in Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* (I. 3).[8] Thus in our opinion, the Ādivarāha and Vigraha coins, identified with Dramma and weighing about 60 grains or more, may be Double-dramma.[9]

1. Ed. H.R. Kapadia, Baroda, 1937, pp. 39, 103 *shoḍaśa-paṇair-drammas-Triśatyāṁ cha purāṇaḥ proktaḥ*.
2. Cf. Schoff, trans., pp. 41-42; see *JAIH*, VI, p. 301
3. Cf. Kārshāpaṇa mentioned in Nahapāna's inscription and literary refere-ce to Rudradamaka-Kārshapaṇa. See Sircar, *Sel. Ins*, pp. 165-66, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 103-04
4. Kshīrasvāmin on Amara (Vaiśya-varga, verse 88) speaks of Karshāpaṇa as *rūpya-rūpaka*, probably meaning 'silver-Rūpaka' (cf. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp 77-78); see also the Baigram plate of the time of Kumāragupta I equating 16 Rūpakas or Gupta silver coins with one Dināra or Gupta gold coin. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 343).
5. Sircar, *Studies in Indion Coins*, p 301.
6. *Ibid*, p. 299. It seems that Viṁśopaka is the same coin in the two cases and not merely the denomination of the part of the standard silver money.
7. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 99, 362 (VII. 7, 8, etc.).
8. See *ibid*, p. 300.
9. *Ibid*, p 301, note 2.

We have suggested above how the weight of this silver coin called by various names as Dramma, Purāṇa, Kārṣhāpaṇa, Rūpaka and Dharaṇa was about 20 Ratis. The Gaya inscription of 1175 A. D mentions the currency of Kārṣhāpaṇa even though its date falls within the Sena age, actually in the reign period of Ballālasena (c. 1159–79 A. D.), when the cowrie-shell was generally used in monetary transactions. It is therēfore interesting to note an endorsement to the main document in this case, which is engraved in one line in the left margin along the border of the inscription. It is a verse mentioning two persons who were witnesses of the payment of the Kapardakas apparently indicating the amount of annual interest, i. e. sixteen Kārshāpaṇas, which was paid in cowrie-shells.[1]

1. *EI*, XXXV, p. 237.

COINS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SILAHARAS

V. V. Mirashi

There were three main branches of the Śilāhāras, one of which ruled over North Koṅkaṇa from *circa* A.D. 800 to A.D. 1265, another over South Koṅkaṇa from *circa* A.D. 765 to A.D. 1024, and the third in Southern Mahārāshṭra from *circa* A.D. 1015 to A.D. 1212. Some of their inscriptions mention a few coins which were current in their territory. It is proposed to discuss them in the present article.

I. Silaharas of North and South Konkana

Dramma. The earliest known inscription of the Northern Śilahāras, *viz.* Kaṇherī Cave Inscription[1] dated Śaka 765 mentions an *akshaya-nīvī* (permanent endowment) of 200 *drammas*, the interest on which was to be spent in perpetuity for the worship of the Buddha in the Cave, the repairs of the Cave-temple, the raiment of the Buddhist Bhikshus and provision of sacred books. *Dramma* was a silver coin weighing 64 grains. These coins were current in the Deccan for a very long period down to the time of the Yādavas. The Śilāhāras probably struck their own *drammas*, but only those of Chhittarāja have been discovered so far. One of them was published by Rapson in *JRAS*, for 1900, p. 118. It is of the Gadhiyā type, being 6 in. in diameter and weighing 53 grains. It has a conventionalised face of the king on the obverse and the legend *Śrī-Chhittarājasya* on the reverse.

Dramma coins seem to have been the common currency in the time of the Śilāhāras. Land revenue of fields was generally paid in *drammas*.[2] The house-tax also was paid in the same coins, one *dramma* per house, which is mentioned as *gṛiha-dramma* in the records of the Śilāhāras. Exemption from this tax was granted in special cases, which is then referred to as *gṛiha-deṇaka-nirmukti*.

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1. *IA*, XIII, pp. 133f.
2. *EI*, XXV, p. 62.

Kielhorn thought that the aforementioned Kaṇherī Cave inscription mentioned *kānchana-drammas* or gold drammas[1] Following him several scholars have stated that *dramma* coins were issued in gold also.[2] But I have shown elsewhere[3] that Kielhorn's reading *kāñchana-dramma-śataṁ* in that inscription is erroneous, the correct reading being *ekaṁ dramma-śataṁ*. *Dramma* never meant a gold coin.

Porutha Drammas. Two Śilāhāra inscriptions mention *Porutha* or, *Poruthi drammas*. The Lonāḍ stone inscription[4] of Aparāditya II, dated Saka 1106, mentions a grant of *Poruthi drammas* in favour of the god Vyomeśvara. Again, the Chānje stone inscription[5] of Someśvara, dated Śaka 1182, records a grant of 162 *Porutha drammas* in favour of the god Uttareśvara in the Śilāhāra capital Sthānaka (modern Ṭhaṇa).

Scholars are not agreed about the nature and type of these *proutha drammas*. Some take them to be Parthian coins; but these coins seem to have been current in Rajaputana, Malwa, Gujarat and Marwad also, where such foreign currency is not likely to have been in circulation. The *Lekhapaddhati* gives the coin-name as *Pāraupatha*[6] or *Pārupathaka*[7] which seems to connect it with some locality as *patha* or *pathaka* was a territorial division. From the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* we learn that *pāruthaka drammas* were in circulation in the kingdom of Jālor near Bhinmāl.[8] It has, therefore, been suggested that they may have received this name form that place just as elsewhere the *drammas* of Bhillamāla are referred to. As for the value of a *pāruttha dramma*, the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* tells us that it was equivalent to eight ordinary drammas.[9] This may have been due to the purity of their silver rather than to their size and weight.

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1. *IA*, XIII p. 136.
2. See references in *JNSI*, XXV, pp. 238-39.
3. *Loc. cit*
4. *JBRS*, XXV, pp. 210f.
5. *EI*, XXIII, pp. 279f.
6. *Lekhapaddhati*, pp. 34, 41f. etc.
7. *Ibid*, p. 43
8. *Purātanaprabandhasangaha* p 53.
9. *Ibid*, p. 51.

As stated above, both the ordinary and the *Porutha drammas* were curent in North Koṅkaṇa in the age of the Śilāhāras. It is noteworthy in this connection that a pot found in North Koṅkana many years ago contained both the Gadhiyā and Kshatrapa coins. Of these, the Gadhiya coins were probably of Chhittarāja or some other ruler and the Kshatrapa coins were probably the so-called *Porutha* coins They were so called because they were believed to have been struck by the Parthian (actually Śaka) kings. This information is contained in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, (old ed.), Nasik District, p.617, n. 2. The note is probably from the pen of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. So we need not doubt the identification of some coins in the hoard as Kshatrapa coins. Unfortunately, that hoard discovered some time before 1883 (the date of that Gazetteer) has not been described or even noticed anywhere.[1] It is noteworthy in this connection that Al Masudi (who died in A. D. 956) mentions that the *dirhams*, called *Tahiriya*, which were current in the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom, were impressed with the date of the reign.[2] This is known to be a speciality of the Kshatrapa coins. So these coins may have been current in the time of the Śilāhāras and may have been known as *porutha* or *poruthi drammas* to distingush them from the ordinary local *drammas*.

Dharaṇa. The Khārepāṭaṇ plates[3] of Raṭṭarāja, dated Śaka 930, mention the levy of a *svarṇa—dharaṇa* (gold dharaṇa) on every foreign ship (with certain exceptions) which touched at the place. The *Manusmṛiti*[4] mentions a gold dharaṇa weighing 10 *palas* (of 320 *rattis*). It, therefore, weighed 3200 *rattis*. It is doubtful if such a heavy gold coin was intended to be referred to in the aforementioned passage of the Khārepāṭaṇ plates. *Dharaṇa* was usually a silver coin. It was also known as *purāṇa*. According to the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*[5], a *dharaṇa* weighed 32 *kṛishṇalas* or *rattis*. According to the *Līlāvatī*[6] of *Bhāskarāchārya*, a *dharaṇa* weighed 24 *rattis* and was equal to half a *gadyāṇaka.* As the Khārepāṭaṇ plates men-

1. No such coin-hoard is listed in P.L. Gupta's *Coin-hoards from Mahārāshṭra.*
2. Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* etc, I, p, 24.
3. *EI*, III, pp. 202f.
4. *Manusmṛiti*, VIII, 135.
5. Yajñavalkya, I. 364; The *Manusmṛiti* (VIII,136) also mentions a silver *dharaṇa* of 32 rattis.
6. See

तुल्या यवाभ्यां कथितात्र गुंजा वल्लास्त्रिगुंजो धरणंच तेऽष्टौ ।
गद्यानकस्तद्द्वयमिन्द्रतुल्यैर्वल्लैस्तथैको घटकः प्रदिष्टः ।।

tion a *gadyāṇaka* in the same context, it is probably a gold *dharaṇa* of 24 *rattis* that is intended.

Gadyāṇaka. As stated before the Khārepāṭaṇ plates mention this coin along with *dharaṇa*, while stating the duty levied on foreign ships entering the harbour of a costal town. It is mentioned as *suvarṇa—gadiyāṇa* which leaves on doubt that it was a gold coin. It was a coin of the size of the modern half-rupee piece. Its standard weight was forty-eight *rattis* as stated in the *Līlāvatī*. Kittel found at Bellary and occasionally in Mysore small gold coins called *gadyāṇa* of the weight of a *ruvvi* or a farthing.

Kumāra-gadyāṇa The Thāṇā plates of Mummuṇi,[1] dated Śaka 970, mention in several places *kumvara-gadiyāṇa* (*kumāragadyāṇa*) while stating the gifts of land or cash in *drammas* to Brāhmaṇa donees. This term occurs also in the grants of the Gāhaḍavālas [2] It has been variously explained. Some take it as a tax in gold coins called *Kumāra-gadyaṇa*[3]; but no such coins are known.

Another explanation is that it was a tax imposed on what is known as Kumarī cultivation[4] which is in vogue in some places such as hill areas and forest tracts; but this explanation also is not likely to be correct; for the tax was levied both in North and South India and on all villages whether they lay in plains or in hill and forest tracts. I have suggested previously[5] that it was in the form of a *nazarāna* to the king on the birth of a prince (*kumāra*); but such occasions would be very few and so there is no point in mentioning such a tax in land-grants. It seems that the tax was levied *for a prince*, i. e. for his maintenance, education *etc.* Other taxes were paid to the *rājan* (king) for the maintenance of law and order and for the execution of other royal duties, while this tax of a *gadyāṇa* per family or field was intended for the maintenance and education *etc.* of the *kumāra* or the Crown—prince.

Dinār. This coin is mentioned in the Paṭṭaṇkuḍī plates[6], date Śaka 910, of Avasara (III) of South Koṅkaṇa in connection

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1. Not published in English. See my *Saṁśodhana-muktāvali*, (Marathi).IV p. 32.
2. *EI*, IV, p. 120.
3. B. P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History*, p. 2 7.
4. *EC*, X, pp. 86f.
5. *Studies in Indology*, III, p. 146.
6. *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 58f.

with the *nazaranā* paid by certain *Śreshṭhis* for the continuation of their *jiva-loka* (traditional rights) in some villages. *Dīnāras* were in circulation in the Gupta age and are mentioned in some Gupta inscriptions. They are mentioned in the *Yājñavalkya, Bṛihaspati* and *Kātyāyana Smṛitis* and seem to have been current till the seventh century A. D. In later records gold coins are referred to as *Suvarṇa.*[1] So this reference to the *dīnāras* in a record of the last quarter of the tenth century A. D. is interesting.

Visova. A reference to this coin occurs in the Chānje Stone inscription[2], dated Śaka 1182, of Someśvara, but it was not noticed by the editors of that record. *Visova* is derived from (Sanskrit) *viṁśopaka* and means the twentieth part of a coin. It was a copper coin of the value of the twentieh part of a *dramma.* It is mentioned in several places in the inscriptions and literature of the Yādava period.

II. The Silaharas of Kolhapur

Only two inscriptions of the Śilāharas of Kolhāpur, *viz.* the Kolhāpur stone inscription[3] of the reign of Gaṇḍarāditya, dated Śaka 1058, and the Miraj stone inscription[4] of the reign of his son Vijayāditya, dated Śaka 1066, contain references to coins while recording the dues levied on commodities sold in the local markets They are as follows —

Hoṅga. One *Paṇa* was levied on every *hoṅga* of the price of articles sold in a cloth—merchant's or a goldsmith's shop.[5] *Hoṅga* is the same as *hon* or *pon,* a gold coin, said to be the same as *varaha.*

Paṇa. It is mentioned in the passage cited above. It is the same as *kārshāpana,* a coin of copper. See the *Manusmṛiti,* VIII, 136. Some take it to mean a tiny gold coin, five or six grains in weight (English fanam).

Bisige. This seems to correspond to Sanskrit *viṁśopaka,* but it means not one-twentieth of a coin, but a coin equal to twenty coins known as *paḷas.*[6] The Table was as follows–20 *paḷas*–one *bisige*

1. See e.g. the description of Govinda IV's gifts in the Cambay plates, *EI,* VII, pp. 36f.
2. *EI,* XXIII p.281. The editors have read *dasa viso va,* which should really be *dasa visova.*
3. *EI,* XIX, pp. 31f.
4. *Ibid* XIX, pp. 35f.
5. *Ibid,* XIX, p. 35.
6. *Bisige* in Kannada means 'twenty'.

and 5 *bisiges* – one *tolā*. Two *bisiges* were levied on each *malave* of *karuse* sold from carts.

Hāga. This is probably the some as *bhāga* or one-fourth of a *paṇa*. One *hāga* was required to be paid for the assaying of stamped *paṇas* of the value of a *honga*.[1]

Aḍḍa – Goldsmiths were required to pay to the local god one *aḍḍa* while assaying a *honga* (gold coin).[2] *Aḍḍa* was a copper coin of the value of half a *paṇa*.

Soḷasa – On the sale of a *koḍa* of oil two *soḷasas*, and on that of a *koḍa* of clarified butter also two *soḷasas* were levied.[3] The meaning of *soḷasa* is not definitely known. Some take it in the sense of a measure.[4] Perhaps it means one-sixteenth. In that case it may be equivalent to one sixteenth of a *paṇa*.[5]

Balla. The *Līlāvatī* mentions *balla* as a coin weighing three *rattis* but the Miraj inscription of Vijayāditya[6] uses the word in the sense of 'a measure of capacity'. There was a levy of one *balla* on a bullock load of food-grains. Barnett has stated that a *balla* was equivalent to four maunds. The same inscription mentions *pomma* evidently as a coin, but I have not been able to find its sense in Kittel's *Kannaḍa – English Dictionary*.

In the excavations at Brahmapurī, a suburb of Kolhāpur, on the bank of the Pañchagaṅgā, two small gold coins were found.[7] They are round in shape and have on the obverse a trident without a handle, the forks of which enclose the sun and the moon, and on the reverse the figure of a standing Garuḍa with legs bent, carrying a flying banner in the left hand and a serpent in the right. Their size is about half an inch and their weight is 22.5 grains. As the Śilāhāras were ruling at Kolhāpur and had the Garuḍa for their ensign these coins apparently belong to them. It is noteworthy that the seal of the Miraj plates of Silāhāra Mārasiṁha shows a similar trident. As the coins are uninscribed, the Śilāhāra king who struck them cannot be identified.

1. *EI*. XIX, p. 28. Barnett has translated *hāga* 'as a quarter fanam'.
2. *Ibid*, XIX, p. 40.
3. *Loc. cit*.
4. See the Index of *EI*, XIX.
5. Kittel does not give this word in his *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*. In the context the meaning of 'a coin' seems better than that of 'a measure'. Perhaps it means 'sixteen palas'. See *bisige* meaning 'twenty palas'.
6. *EI*, XIX, p. 40.
7. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 15f.

HITHERTO UNKNOWN LION-TYPE COINS OF NASIRU-D-DIN MAHMUD SHAH I OF BENGAL

Vasant Choudhury

and

Parimal Ray

(Pl. IV)

Among the Sultāns of Bengal, coin with the motif of grotesque lion (**Pl. IV 4**) has so far been found only in the coinage of Jalālud-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh,[1] a ruler of early fifteenth Century A.D. Historical sources inform that on the death of Jalālud-dīn Muḥammad (about 835 A. H./ 1431 A. D.) he was succeeded by his son Shamsu-d-dīn Aḥmed Shāh.[2] But his reign was darkened by his tyrannical nature and fell at last by the hand of an assassin in 1442 A.D. (846 A. H.).[3] His only known dated coin bears the date 836 A. H. (1432 A. D.) and the epithet inscribed on both the sides.[4]

1. (a) N. K. Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, Dacca, 1922, pl. X, No. 9.

   (b) We have seen a unique hexagonal silver rupee coin with lion motif struck by Jalalu-d-dīn Muhammad Shāh, the Sultan of Bengal. It is described below.

   Obv. Within a field bounded by a six-sided scalloped-line, a grotesque lion to right drawn in linear form, its tongue is also shown, script over lion in Persian :— '*Bin Kāns Shāh*'.

   Rev. Within a field bounded by a six-sided straight line, five-line legend in Persian Script :—
   Jalāl / u'd-dunyā wa'd-dīn / Ābul Muzāffar / Muhammad Shāh / as-sultān.
   Weight : 10.50 gms; Size : 27.5 mm (corner to corner), 24. 8mm (side to side). Coin is in the possession of Sri Khudiram Das of Murshidabad, West Bengal. (**Pl. IV. 5**).

2. Jadunath Sarkar, *The History of Bengal*, Reprinted 1973, p. 129.
3. H. Nelson wright, *CCIM*, II, p. 136.
4. H. Blochmann, *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*, Reprinted 1968, p. 62.

After Aḥmed's assassinathion Nāsiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I, a descendant of Ilyās Shāh[1], ascended the throne to rule in about 841 A. H. (1437 A. D.) He was the thirty seventh Bengal ruler and restored the house of Ilyās Shah. His earliest known coin bears the date 841 A. H.[2]

Recently, two coins inscribed with the figure of a grotesque lion surrounded by marginal legend on the obverse were received by the present writers from Mr. Babu Jain of Calcutta. Coins of similar type were also collected by Mr. G. S. Beed and Mr. H. P. Poddar, two eminent coin collectors of Calcutta from the same source. However, the writers were very much surprised to note that out of the two coins, one bears the clear date 849 A. H. (1445 A. D.), while the first two digits of the date of the other coin have been badly defaced by the shroff mark which is common on Bengal coins. But still the third digit is distinctly '9'. Unfortunately, the legend giving the issure's name which was inscribed around the lion on both the coins is obliterated. Nevertheless, the legend on the reverse, which ended with 849 A. H., is quite clear and thus it could be stated that the issuer of the coin in question is Nāsiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh who was ruling independently over Bengal at that time. Moreover, with the kind co-operation of Md. Nazim, Curator, Coin-room, Indian Museum, Calcutta, it is also noticed that the epithet on the reverse of the coin under discussion is identical with the legend of the other types of coins issued by Maḥmūd Shah.[3] However, we were convinced about our assessment of the issuer's name, when we were kindly allowed by Mr. Beed and Mr. Poddar to examine and record the other two coins of their cabinets. The legend around the lion on the said two coins is almost readable and Md. Nazim had no diffculty in reading the name of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh which is found in the legend.

The above discussed coins of Maḥmūd Shāh may be described as follows :—

1. Silver Rupee in the author's possession.

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1. M. Chakraborty, *JASB*, 1909, p. 205, suggested that Naṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shah I belonged to the Maḥmūdi Dynasty.
2. *JNSI*, IX, 1947, p 47, Pl. 1.
3. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 166, AR, 125. Also see p. 167, AR. 140.

Obverse : Within circle at the centre, the figure of a grotesque lion to left; continuation of legend along the border outside the circle but much defaced to be legible.

Reverse : In a circle surrounded by arabesques, four-line legend in Persian script.

1. *Almuyyad bataeed*
2. *Al-Rahmān Khalifatullāh.*
3. *Bilhujjat wal-burhān*
4. *Kha [Zānah] —9*

Size : 26.5 mm. round.
Weight : 10.57 gms.
Mint : The Treasury
Date : (84) 9 A. H.

(Pl. IV. 6)

2. Silver Rupee in the author's possession.

Obverse : As on no. 1, but lion facing right.

Reverse : As on no. 1, but the mint entirely defaced by *shroffs* stamps. The date is distinct 849.

Size : 25. 1 mm. round.
Weight : 10. 66 gms.
Mint : Much defaced.
Date : 849 A. H.

(Pl. IV. 7)

3. Silver Rupee in the cabinet of Mr. G.S. Beed.

Obverse : As on no. 1, lion facing right, portion of legend in the margin is quite clear :—
Mahmud Shāh As-sultān
Nāsirud-Dunya [*wad-Din Abul Muzaffar.*]

Reverse : As on no. 1, but 4th line of the epithet is distinct :—
Khazāna 849.

Size : 25.8 mm. round.
Weight : 10.57 gms.
Mint : The Treasury.
Date : 849 A.H.

(Pl. IV. 8)

4. Silver Rupee in the cabinet of Mr. H.P. Poddar.

Obverse : As on no. 3, marginal legend decipherable :–
Nāsir-ud-Dunya Wad-Din
Abul Muzaffar Mahmu [d Shāh]
As-Sultān.

Reverse : As on no. 1, but badly injured by *shroff's* chop marks and stamps.

Size	:	25.9 mm. round.
Weight	:	10.66 gms.
Mint	:	Defaced by shroff's stamp
Date	:	First digit "8" readable but other two digits chopped by shroff's instrument.

(**Pl. IV. 9**)

Maḥmud Shāh died possibly sometime in early 864 A. H. (1459 A. D.[1]) His stone inscription dated 28th Zil Hijjah, 863 or 26th October, 1459 has been found.[2] He was succeeded by his son Ruknu-d-dīn, Bārbak Shāh.[3] Thenceforth no coin with lion motif has yet discovered of himself and of any of his successors on the Bengal throne.

Incidentally, similar lion motif coins went in vogue in India's hill-bound north-eastern frontier State of Tripura during 869 A H. (1464 A.D), when Ratnamāṇikya, the first known coin striking ruler was on the throne. Some eminent scholars feel that the lion motif in the coinage of Ratnamāṇikya was borrowed from the coins of Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh who was ruling over Bengal about thirty-six years before Ratnamāṇikya. But after the discovery of the coins of Maḥmud Shāh, it could possibly be presumed that the lion was borrowed by Ratnamāṇikya in his coinage from the coins of Maḥmūd Shāh who was ruling over Bengal a few years before Ratnamāṇikya's rule. Moreover, the lion figure inscribed on the coins dated Śaka 1386 (869 A.H.) with marginal legend[4] issued by Ratna (**Pl. IV. 10**) are more akin

1. Sri Sukhamay Mukhyopadhyay, *Bānglār Itihāser duśo bachar*, 2nd edition, 1966, p. 182.

2. Blochmann, *op. cit*, p. 65

3. Mukhyopādhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

4. Author's, *Tripurār Mudrāy Mūrtiividyār Prabhāv*, in the *Rabi – vāsariya Ananda Bāzar Patrikā*, Āsāḍha 6, B. S, 1377. (June, 1970), illustration of coin *'Ka'*.

to the lion appearing on the coins of Maḥmūd Shāh in question than to that seen on Jalālu-d-dīn's coins. It may be mentioned here that the coins with marginal legend are known to have been issued by two more kings of Tripurā, viz., Mukuṭamāṇikya[1] and Dhanyamāṇikya[2] besides Ratna. It is also interesting to note that the grotesque lion motif in Tripurā coinage was continued for more than four and a half centuries after Ratna till the end of the dynasty.

It may be mentioned here that in Eastern India during medieval period the lion motif occurs on the coins of the Lichchhavī Sūryavaṃsī and Thākuri rulers of the seventh century Nepal[3] and on the coins of Ratnadeva II, the 12th century ruler of the Kalachuri dynasty.

1. 'Coin of Mukuṭamāṇikya of Tripurā', paper read by the present authors at the monthly seminar of the Deptt. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University held in September, 1973.
2. *JAIH*, V, 1971-72, addendum, p. 375, Pl. VIII. 12.
3. *JNSI*, XXI (1), Pl. II, Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 6.

TWO NEW COINS OF BENGAL SULTANS

Roma Niyogi

(Pl. V)

Some time ago I came across two interesting silver coins of two Sulṭāns of Bengal, namely, Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I and Shamsu-d-dīn Muẓaffar Shāh. Photographs of these coins have already been displayed at the exhibition of the Numismatic Society's Banaras session, 1973.

I

Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I, a scion of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty, came to power shortly after the assassination of Aḥmad Shāh the last ruler of the house of Ganeś; the assassins were two slaves, Shādī Khān and Nāṣir Khān, who held power only for brief spells till the last one was ousted by the Ilyās Shāhī nobles and Nāsiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd was raised to the throne. This king enjoyed a long and prosperous reign of at least twenty two years extending from 841 A.H. (1437 A.D.) to 864 A.H. (1459 A.D.)[1]. Though only one gold coin of this Sulṭān has so far been published, his extensive silver coinage is rich in varieties and even now new types are coming to light[2]. One of the two coins under discussion is a new variety introducing a type with a square-area design on the reverse and a legend which is not generally associated with Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd I.

The coin may be described as follows :

Metal : AR; Size : 27 mm. (approx.); Weight 10 350 gms (approx.).

Obv. *Kalimah* in a circle; Marginal legend within the outer circle containing the names of the *Khalifas* is partially off the flan; date in the margin-٨٣٩

1. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, II, p. 130; R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 211; Habib & Nizami, *Delhi Sultanat*, p. 153; *JNSI*, IX, pp. 45-49; Karim, *Corpus of Muslim Coins of Bengal*, pp. 84 & 145 for different dates
2. A paper on recently discoverd Lion-type coins of the Sultan was read by Vasanta Chaudhury and Parimal Ray at the Diamand Jubilee Session of the Numismatic Society of India [This paper is published elsewhere in this volume-*AMS*].

Rev. Within a square

السلطان العادل
ناصر الدنيا والدين
ابو المجاهد محمود
شاه السلطان

Marginal legends on top and r. is cut off.

Below — محمود بن

Left — خلد الله (Pl. V. 1)

This type, that is, obverse legend in circle and reverse legend in square, is not mentioned in either the *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal* by Karim or in any subsequent publication. The appearance of the *Kalimah* is rather a rare feature on the coins of this Sultān. More important, however, is the reverse legend, which has been noted before by Lane-Poole in *B. M. Catalogue* on two undated and mintless coins; these coins have been assigned to Nāṣiru-d-din Maḥmūd II (*c.* 895–96 A.H./*c.* 1489–91 A.D.)[1]. The parentage of this Sultān is obscure; he has been described as the son of either, Saifu-d-dīn Firoz, the preceding Abyssinian Sulṭan or Jalālu d-dīn Fath Shāh (1481–86 A.D.), a descendent of Ilyās Shāh[2]. The brief reign of this boy-king was dominated by the Abyssinians by whom he was ultimately deposed. Only four coins have so far been assigned to him by Laidlay, Lane-Poole and Wright.[3] Karim, however, has argued that these four coins were not issued by Nāṣiru-dīn Maḥmūd II but by Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd I[4]. In this connection it may also be noted that the title العادل does not appear to have been popular with the rulers of Bengal; in fact it has been used by only three chiefs before Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd (Governor Dawlat Shāh bin Mawdūd and Sulṭāns Ilyās Shāh and Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh) and one after him (Alāu-d-dīn Husain Shāh). It looks like a very odd coincidence indeed that this hardly popular title would be used by two Sulṭāns of the same name. Though, of course, this oddity should not be forwarded as an argument, it can certainly be pointed out as a circumstance that strengthens the arguments of Karim.

1. Lane-Poole, *BMC*, p. 42.
2. *History of Bengal*, II, p. 139; *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 214; *Corpus*, p. 181.
3. *JASB*, (1846), pp. 330-31; *BMC*, p. 42; *IMC*, II (ii), p. 171.
4. *Corpus*, pp. 104-05 & 173 ff.

The second digit of the date on the coin poses a problem; written as a ۲ with an additional central stroke in the upper part, it may be read as either ۳ or ۴ [1]. Since Nāṣiru-d-din Maḥmūd I is generally known to have ruled from 841 A.H. to 864 A. H., · one's first impulse is to read the digit as ۴. Various forms of this numeral are found on the coins of this Sulṭān (e. g.

mostly beginning with a semi-circular stroke like 'c' or an elongated 's' stroke[2]. The coin under discussion might be introducing yet another form, unusual, debased, beginning with a 'U' stroke form left to right, then tracing back from right to left in another wider 'U' stroke. Alternatively, this coin may be presenting us with a simplified form of ۳ written with a perpendicular stroke inside a 'U' stroke, instead of two 'U' strokes, thus saving labour (and possibly also space) of tracing two curves. An enlarged photograph of the date portion of the coin (**Pl. V. 1a**) helps us to choose between the two alternatives; it clearly shows that the central stroke of the second digit is not the portion of a 'U' stroke traced within and merged into a wider 'U' stroke, but a straight downward stroke, slightly tapering at the lower end and as such it should be read as ۳. There is no chronological anomaly in reading the date as 839 A.H., as the preceeding Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh ruled from *c* 835 A.H. to either 836 A.H. (according to Sanyal and Karim) or to *c*. 839 A. H. (according to Dani)[8] Sanyal (and subsequently Karim also) has drawn our attention to a numismatic gap between 836 and 841 A. H. when he published a coin that pushed back the initial date of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd I from 846 to 841 A H. The reading of the date on this coin as 839 A.H. once again pushes the initial date of the Sulṭān further back to 839 A.H. or *c*. 1435 A.D.

The mint-name on the coin has been read as (حذانه) محمداباد Though the identification of the place is difficult, Muhammadābād was a well-known mint-name on the coins of the later Sulṭāns of

1. I have shown the coin to Mr. Md. Najim (Curator, Indian Museum). Dr. Abdus Subhan (Maulana Azad College) & Mr. G.S. Farid (a member of the Asiatic Society) and they are divided in their opinion on the reading of the date.
2. Cf. *JNSI*, IX, pl. IV, no. 7; *JASB*, 1873, p. 269; 1875, pp. 288-89; 1883. p. 2.7; *IMC*, II (ii), nos. 113 & 130; etc.
8. *JNSI*, IX, pp. 48-49; *Corpus*, p. 145; *JASB*, 1952, p. 166.

Bengal. Karim has tentatively suggested that the place was named after Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh; he has also noticed the first appearance of the mint-name on the coins of Jalālu-d-dīn Fatḥ Shāh (c. 1481-86 A.D.), a son of Nāsiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd I and the subsequent use of the mint by the Ḥusain Shāhī king[1]. This coin, however, shows that Muḥammadabād as a mint existed as early as 839 A.H., more than 40 years before the reign of Fatḥ Shāh; it should also be noted that this coin is, at present, the earliest one, known to have been issued from mint Muḥammadabād of Bengal.

II

Shamsu-d-din Muẓaffar (*c.* 896-99 A.H./*c.* 1490-93 A.D.), to whom the second coin belongs, was the last of the Abyssinian Sultans of Bengal. This coin presents no new feature so far as the legend and design are concerned. On the obverse the *Kalimah* is in a circle with the outer margin retaining only the name of the second *Khalifah*; on the reverse the legend that gives the king's *kunyat* as ابوالمظفر is in what appears to be a plain area. (Pl. V. 2). However, the date on the coin is important. So far only one date, 896 (A.H.) has been read satisfactorily on his coins [2]. The *I. M. Catalogue* notes "(89)8" on one coin and "898 (?)" on another; the last digit on the second coin, however, can be read clearly as ٧ both on the plate and on the coin [3]. The second coin under discussion in these pages contains on the obverse the mint-name خزانه [4] along with the last two digits of the date–٩٧; though the first digit is completely obliterated by a shroff-mark, it can be unhesitatingly restored as ٨٩٧. This coin, thus, provides another satisfactorily read date for Sulṭān Shamsu-d-dīn Muẓaffar Shāh.[5]

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1. *Corpus*, pp. 101 & 163.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-07 & 147.
3. *IMC*, II (ii), no. 165 & plate.
4. [The reading *Hazānah* seems to be incorrect, on both the coins published in this paper. In all probability it should be read as *Khazanah* which means treasury, and seems to be used in place of *zarb* J.P.S.].
5. I am indebted to Mr. Muhammad Najim (Curator, Indian Museum) for his ungrudging help to me in some difficult stages of the rendering of the coins, and also for checking up the Arabic portions in this paper.

MINT RECORDS OF MALHARNAGAR
(INDORE 1856 A. D.)

S. K. Bhatt

The history of the coinage of the Holkars begins with the reign of Malhar Rao I, the founder of Holkar dynasty.[1] The earliest reference to the coinage occurs in connection with the Panipat campaign of 1761 A.D., when the high price of food having exhausted the money in Sadashiv Rao's Treasury, the latter along with Scindhia and Holkars set up mints in the camp and, having melted all the ornaments, coined a quantity of rupees bearing the words. *Bhaushai*, *Jankoshahi*, and *Malharshahi*. It was temporary minting of silver rupee which could hardly last for a fortnight.[2] Thereafter Malhar Rao Holkar seems to have started minting at Malharnagar somewhere between 1761 and 1766 A. D.[3]

Regular minting of silver coins in the state began from 1767 A. D. (1181 A. H.) at two mints; one at Malharnagar (Indore) and the other at Maheshwar.[4] The coins from Malharnagar had a Sun symbol in the سن of *jalus* on the reverse side and the *Zarb* Malharnagar. The mint continued to mint coins in silver upto 1890–91 A. D. (V.S. 1947) with a few gaps in years of minting. The other mint at Maheshwar struck coins in silver with a *linga* and *bela* leaf symbols on the reverse of the coin. It is said that coins of this type were intended by Ahilya Bai to be spent on religious and charitable purposes, their distinctive mark being the tri–foliate *bilva* leaf, which is held sacred to God Siva.[5] The mint continued to mint such coins

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1. The dynasty derives its name from a village Hol or Hal (where they took their final abode) on the Nira river in the Phaltan paragana of Aurangabad district. L. C. Dhariwal's *Indore State Gazetteer*, p. 20. (9931)
2. Kincaid, *History of the Maratha people*, III, p. 68.
3. I have come across a coin of this period which does not bear any traditional symbol of the Holkars and bears the zarb Malharnagar. It bears a cresent.
4. Tradition goes that Malhar Rao I liked the situation of Indore for its Military importance and called it Malharnagar after himself and started a mint here. Dhariwl's *Gazetteer*, p. 424.
5. *Ibid.*, p 290.

upto 1803-4 A. D. (1218 A.H.). The records reveal that Maheshwar mint was closed by 1830-32 A. D.[1] It is curious enough to note that silver coins from both the mints Malharnagar as well as Maheshwar, bear similar legend about mint, "*zarb Ma harnagar*" (struck at Malharnagar) having only a minor calligraphical difference in Persian (ملہارنگر and مللارنگر). If we believe in the version that Maheshwar mint continued minting of silver coins upto 1830 A. D. then the question may arise about the availability of the coins of this period (1803-4 to 1830 A. D.) bearing its principal symbols of the *liṅga* and the *bela* leaf. Was it that after 1218 A. H. (1803-4 A. D. the Maheshwar mint also started minting silver coins bearing sun symbol, similar one to the coins issued from Malharnagar mint ? It is merely a conjucture.

In the first quarter of the 19th century, the right of coining was vested in no particular body or individuals; any banker or merchant sufficiently conversant with business had merely to make application to the Holkar state government after having entered into an agreement to produce coins of the regulated standard and agreed to pay the proper fees on their being assayed and permitted to pass current.[2] He used to pay at the mint the following fixed fees under the following heads:

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Government dues per cent.	1	4	0
Refining ....350 r's	0	4	0
Melter ....1000 r's	0	4	0
Assay-master ....1000 r's	0	4	0
Expences for lead, &c. &c.	0	7½	0
loss of silver in melting, per cent.	1	0	0

Thus the expense to the merchant used to come about two rupees and thirteen annas per cent. The government used to spend Re. I and annas 2½ per thousand coins on the following heads:[3]—

4 annas per 1000 to the stamper.
4 ....1000 to the engraver.
4 ....1000 to hammerman.
4 ....1000 to refiner.
2½ ....1000 to silversmith.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 290,
2. Sir John Malcolm's, *A Memoir of Central India*, II, p. 80.
3. *Ibid.* p. 81.

The government used to appoint on salary the following officials: a *daroga* (superintendent), a *choukasee* (an assay-master), a *daftary* (an accountant) and a few *nearchees* (some refiners). Besides their wages, these officers were allowed certain perquisites.[1] The mint could produce in a day nearabout 11,000 coins with the help of fifty silversmiths, ten to twelve stampers, six to eight refiners and two melters.[2]

During the reign of Tukoji Rao II, at Malharnagar mint, a new machine was installed. Hereafter Malharnagar mint began to be distinguished as "Old" and "New" or *Yantra Taksal* in records. The records being discussed herewith are from the "Old" mint and pertain to the year 1866 A. D.

In the earlier part of Tukoji Raoś reign the old mint of Malharnagar was exceedingly primitive, everything being done by hand with the help of dies and hammers and a pair of scales. It worked with a staff of near about 125 men, minting 20,000 to 25,000 silver coins a day[3]. Till 1877 A. D. the mint coined only silver presented by a trader or banker for coinage and charged a seigniorage thereupon. After 1877 A. D. owing to the scarcity of silver and fluctuation in its price in (world) market, the state took over the mint and treasury began to import bullion on its account and started minting coins. Henceforth silver coinage became a state monopoly.[4] Mint records being published in this paper are of the old mint which was run by individual contractors.

The records are in *Modi* script and are of Fasli year 1276 (V. S. 1923) and provide us for the first time information about the working of the mint, the officers and contractors employed for the work, total amount of silver rupees minted in the year, the seigniorage charged thereon, the amount paid to the contractors, the wages paid to government employees and the amount deposited in to State Treasury. A few details of the same are as under:—

1. Coins worth Rs. 297634I–As. 2–P. 0 were minted during the year.
2. Rs. 34076–6–6 were charged as Seigniorage @ R. 11–9–0 per thousand.

1. *Ibid*
2. *Ibid*, p. 85 fn,
3. V. K. Kunte's, *A Note On Indore Administration*, (1928), p. 110.
4. Dhariwal's, *Indore State Gazetteer*, p. 292.

3. Rs. 9209–13 were paid to the contractors @ Rs. 3–2–0 per thousand.

The details of the contractors:—

(a) Rs. 1473-9-0 to Krishnarao Gopal Phadnavis (accountant) @ Rs. 0-8-0 per thousand.

(b) Rs. 5525-12-0 to Amritrao (silversmith) @ Rs. 1-14-0 per thousand.

(c) Rs. 552-10-0 to Kuvarji the Engraver @Rs. 0-3-0 per thousand.

(d) Rs. 552-10-0 to Ganesh Laxman, the Hammermau @ Rs. 0-3 0 per thousand.

(e) Rs. 552-10-0 to Hiralal, the Stamper @ Rs. 0-3-0 per thousand.

(f) Rs. 552-10-0 to Jahangir Abdullah (perhaps of the heating department) @ Rs. 0-3-0 per thousand.

4. Rs. 1620-4-0 received by the mint as weighing charges, amount from other small contractors, presents by the contractors to His Highness and fines from the defaulters.

5. Rs. 26138-4-6 credited to State Treasury to Govindrao Treasurer through Chunnilal Potdar.

6. Rs. 2715-0-0 spent on the staff and contingency which included expenditure on charitable purposes, coal, oil, for lighting arrangements, water-carrier tamarind and *nim boriyas* for brightening the newly minted coins, cartage and assage, lead, sealing was, stationary articles including paper, ink, gum, inkpot, and sand as substitue for blotting paper, gifts on various festivals and repairing charges on wooden blocks for fixing the dies and the copper pots used for cleaning coins.

Thus the study of the mint records brings to light many hitherto unknown important details about Malharnagar mint, giving us an idea as to how it would have minted silver coins. It appears that private individuals including traders and bankers used to bring sil-

ver for coining before the contractor of the mint authorised by the state on certain terms and conditions for the purpose After weighing the silver, the state used to charge a seigniorage at the rate of Rs. 11-as. 9-0 per thousand coins, out of which Rs. 3-2-0 per thousand were paid to the contractor for minting coins. Now the silver was to be given to silversmith also known as refiner for preparation of a silver alloy of a ratio fixed by the state, sometimes by adding to it lead also. The silver alloy was then to be examined by the tester known as *Chasanigar*. If found of fixed alloy, it was to be given to silversmiths to cut it into small lumps (pieces) of equal (one tolā) weight. These lumps were to be heated and converted into planchet (flat round pieces). Now the planchets were to be cleaned by boiling them in a mixture of tamarind and *nimboris*. The cleaned planchets were to be handed over to a stamper for engraving the legend on both sides with the help of steel dies. The legend on the obverse side was *Badshah Shah Alam Gazi Sikah Mubarak* and on the reverse *Manus Maimanat Julus Sanah Zarb Malharnagar*, in reverse order. There used to be thus two steel dies, the lower one perhaps fixed in a wooden log as the records reveal. The stamper used to engrave the inscription (legend) on both the sides of the planchets. Now the coins were ready, but before they were released for circulation, they were to be carried to the assay-master known as *Choukasi* to examine and accertain that they were of exact weight and fixed alloy. After having been examined by the assay-master, the coins were to be packed into small bags called as *todas*. The *todas* were to be weighed before they were handed over to the party which had brought the silver for coining. In the light of all the abovementioned information the imoprtance of the mint records cannot be exaggerated.[1]

1. *Toda* means a bag of coins equval to 1000 *tolas*, in weight. If this with the process of minting given by Malcolm in his *Memoir of Central India*, II, pp. 40-86.

झडती माहाल टकसाल चांदी परगणे इंदोर मयातेन अलके
सन् १२७६ फसली मालवी सन् १२७४

झडती माहाल टकसाल चांदी परगणे इंदोर सुबा श्रीमंत राजश्री तुकोजीराव होलकर वि: टीकाराम जमादार मामलेदार मयातेन अलके सन् १८६६ ई० मालवी सन् १२७४ ६ रोज बुधवार मिति अधिक जेष्ठ वदी अष्टमी ते दिवसी ५ राज बुधवार माहे जून मिति जेष्ठ सुद ३ सन १२७६ फ़सली आखेर साल मुद्दत महिने १२ संमत १९२३.

जमा		खर्च
४६८१—।	शिल्लक साल गुदस्त	
२९७१७ ।—।	जमा साल मजकूर	
३४३९८ ।=।।		
	शिल्लक साल गुदस्त	
४६८१—।	नगदी	
•	लाग	
४६८१—।		
०	जमा साल मजकूर	
२६४८६ ।।।—।।	ऐन जमा	
३२३० ।≡।।।	इजाफत जमा	
२९७१७ ।—।	ऐन जमा	
२४८६६ ।।—।।	ऐन माल	
१६२०।	शिवा जमा	
२६४८६।।।—।।		
०	ऐन माल	
२४८६६ ।।—।।	बर हुकुम शिक्का माहेवार	

२१३०१५।) माहे जून उर्फ जेष्ठ मास
२५९९६) माहे जुलाई उर्फ आषाढ़ मास
५४१८।।।) माहे अगष्ट उर्फ श्रावण मास
३०१२।।।) माहे सितंबर उर्फ भाद्रपद मास
९६८८३।= माहे अक्टूबर उर्फ अश्विन मास

६५६४५१ माहे नवंबर उर्फ कार्तिक मास
६६६४१६।। माहे दिसंबर उर्फ मार्गशीर्ष मास
२०८६७६।।। = माहे जनवरी उर्फ पोष मास
३४४९२।।। = माहे फरवरी उर्फ माघ मास
४०८६७।।। माहे मार्च उर्फ फाल्गुन मास
६५७०१५। माहे अप्रेल उर्फ चैत्र मास
३६५०९४।। माहे मे उर्फ वैशाष मास

२९७६३४१ =

यांसी तफसील सालवार नांवनीशीं आसामीवार

२१७३९२। =	जमनादास चुन्नीलाल
८११८३।	जुमा जहांगीर
५६४४१९।।। =	शोभाराम वल्देव
६६१८०९।।।	गोवर्धन दास केसरी मल
१४११९२।।।	मंगल जी निहाल चंद
२९९०	नानूराम बलदेव
१७९५७	करीम जहांगीर
३१४०४।।।	शिवनाथ जयदेव
११७४३५।।	इंदौरीमल
४१५२।	हाजी अब्दुल
११९३	महम्मद जहांगीर
३०५९।।	जगन्नाथ शिवप्रताप
२८५६०७।।।	शिव प्रताप जमनादास
७९८०९५।। =	करीम जुमा जहांगीर
१९२५५।।	जयचंद चुन्नीलाल
२९१९२।	यंत्र टकसाल पैकीं चांदी गुदस्त हाजर
२९७६३४१ =	

पैकीं वजा यंत्र टकसाल कडील सिक्का विन हासिल
गालल्या मुळें वाकी सिक्का अमलवार बद्दल २९१९२।

२९४७१४८।।। =

यांसी महसूल दर हजारीं ११।। प्रमाणें आकार ३४०७६। =।।
पैकीं वजा वाव मजुरी रुपये दर हजारीं ३ = प्रमाणे आकार ९२०९।।।

तफसील

१४७३।। कृष्णराव गोपाल फडनीस दर हजारीं ।।) प्रमाणें
५५२५।।। सोनार अमृतराव यांसी मजुरी दर हजारीं १।।। = प्रमाणे

५५२॥ = कुंवरजी सिक्के वाला दर हजारीं रु = प्रमाणें
५५२॥ = गणेश लक्ष्मण घनकरी दर हजारीं = प्रमाणें
५५२॥ = हीरालाल मोहरकन्द दर हजारी = प्रमाणें
५५२॥ = जहांगीर अब्दुल वल्द

६२०६।।।
बाकी जमा —— —— खर्च
० लाग —— —— २४८६६॥–॥
—— सिवा जामा —— —— खर्च
२४८६६॥–॥

३७३–॥ सावकारी मालाचा तोल हो तो त ांज वर सरकारी लागाबद्दल तोल यांसी दर हजारी रुपये = प्रमाणें आकार बारामाही २६८३१५०

२६॥–॥ माहे जून उर्फ जेष्ठ मास सिक्का २१३७६३ दर =
३। माहे जौलाई उर्फ आषाढ़ मास सिक्का २६१६३ दर =
॥ = माहे अगस्त उर्फ श्र वण तोल ५४५६ दर =
। = माहे सितम्बर उर्फ भाद्रपद मास तोल ३०३० दर =
१२= माहे अक्टुबर उर्फ आश्विन मास तोल ६७०६२
८२ =॥ माहे नवम्बर उर्फ कार्तिक मास तोल ६५७८५० दर =
६३॥।–। माहे दिसम्बर उर्फ मार्गशीर्ष मास तोल ६७०६६५
२६ = ॥ माहे जनवरी उर्फ पौष मास तोल २०६२४६ दर =
४।–। माहे फरवरी उर्फ माघ मास तोल ३४६७६ दर =
५ = माहे मार्च उर्फ फाल्गुन मास तोल ४०६६३ दर =
८२॥ माहे अप्रेल उर्फ चैत्र मास तोल ६५७६०५ दर =
४५॥।)॥ माहे मे उर्फ वैशाख मास तोल ३६६२४८ दर हजारी =

३७३–॥ तोल दर हजारी = प्रमाणें २६८३१५०।

४१॥ = सावकारी माल गाकला जातो त्याला सरकारी मनुष तोल लावतो त्यांज बद्दल दर माही तोड़ दर तोड़ास रुपये = प्रमाणें आकार

३॥। माहे जून उर्फ जेष्ठ मास
१ = माहे जुलाई उर्फ आषाढ मास
। – माहे अगष्ट उर्फ श्रावण मास
। – माहे सितम्बर उर्फ भाद्रपद मास
२ = माहे अक्टुबर उर्फ अश्विन मास
८। माहे नवम्बर उर्फ कार्तिक मास
८ = माहे दिसम्बर उर्फ मार्गशीर्ष
३ । माहे जनवरी उर्फ पौष मास

१॥ — माहे फरवरी उर्फ माघ मास
१ माहे मार्च उर्फ फाल्गुन मास
७॥ ≡ माहे अप्रेल उर्फ चैत्र मास
४॥। — माहे मे उर्फ वैशाप मास

४१॥ ≡

२७८॥। ≡ ॥ हीरालाल मोहरकन्द यांसी सिक्केची मजूरी बर हुकुम सिक्का २९७६३४१ =

यांसी दर हजारीं रुपये ≡ प्रमाणें आकार ५५७॥ =
पैकीं वजा थावरया गुमास्ता यांजला सिक्का खोदने बद्दल
दर हजारी—॥ (दींड आना) २७८॥। ≡ ॥
बाकी सरकारी जब्तीस दर हजारीं —॥ २७८॥। ≡ ॥

१४ चौकातील जागेचे ठेक्या बद्दल गुदस्त नत्था जहांगीर यांसी दिला गेला त्यां महिना बद्दल उत्पन्न

२ माहे जून उर्फ जेष्ठ मास
२ माहे अक्टुबर उर्फ अश्विन मास
२ माहे नवम्बर उर्फ कार्तिक मास
२ माहे जानेवरी उर्फ पौष मास रूजु दिसंबर
२ माहे जानेवरी उर्फ पौष मास
२ माहे अप्रेल उर्फ चैत्र मास
२ माहे मे उर्फ वैशाष मास

१४

१८४ ≡ गुंजानखाना झडाई बद्दल ठेका गुदस्त जहांगीर बर हुकुमसिक्का २९७६३४१ =

बारामाही बद्दल दर हजारी—(१ आणा) प्रमाणें आकार १८४ ≡

१४१ तारकसी चे पेट्या बद्दल करीम जुमा जहांगीर
तार देशावरुन येतात त्यांवर सरकारी महसुला बद्दल बर हुकुम
पट्टा बारामाही बद्दल १४१

५१८।— सोनारी सरकारी आसाम्याचे मजूरी बद्दल १२ माही बर हुकुम पत्र के

३७॥ — माहे जुन उर्फ जेष्ठ मास
५॥ ≡ माहे जुलाई उर्फ आषाढ़ मास
३ माहे अगस्त उर्फ श्रावण मास
।॥ ≡ माहे सितबंर उर्फ भाद्रपद मास
३१॥ — माहे अक्टूबर उर्फ अश्विन मास

१०५॥– माहे नवम्बर उर्फ कार्तिक मास
९५॥ माहे दिसम्बर उर्फ मार्गशीर्ष मास
३७॥ माहे जनवरी उर्फ पौष मास
७॥ = माहे फरवरी उर्फ माघ मास
१२ = माहे मार्च उर्फ फाल्गुन मास
१०९। = माहे अप्रेल उर्फ चैत्र मास
७१॥। माहे मे उर्फ वैशाख मास

५१८।

८६ भेटी सिक्के दार कारखाने दार लोका पैकीं
४० दशहरा भेट साल मजकूरा पासून केले त्यास बद्दल
२० जहांगीर अमलदार ५ प्रमाणे
५ कुवरजी सिक्केवाला
५ गणेश घनकरी
५ नारायन चासनीगर
५ थावरया मोहरकद यांचा गुमास्ता

४०

२८ अखिर साली भेट आमवार
१० दारकसाई चे पेट्या बद्दल
९ अखिर साली भेट
९ पट्टाभेट सन १२७६ फसली बद्दल

१०

३ सिक्केदार आसामी बद्दल
१ कुवरजी सिक्केवाला
१ गणेश घनकरी
१ अब्दुल जहांगीर
१ हीरालाल मोरकन्द
१ नारायण चासनीगर

६

१२ कारखाने दार आसामी बद्दल
११ पुण्या लोनारी कोलश्या
टाकणा यांज बद्दल
१० केशवराव कारकून निसबत
चांगड याजला देत होता त्याज बद्दल

६ अखिर साली भेट

११

१ गुदस्त साल पासून साल मजकूर बद्दल

१२

६८

१ जरीखान्या बद्दल नन्दराम भटेरा यांनी सोनाराचे मजूराकडून घडलेल्या टीकडया चोरीच्या घेतल्या त्याना हरनाल्या वरून टिवडया नग दोन सोनारास देऊन जिरवाना केला तो

१६२०। तेरीज ऐन जमा

२४८६६॥–॥ ऐन माल

१६२०। सिवा जमा

२६४८६।॥–॥ इजाफत जमा

१५४१ = यंत्र टकसाल पैकीं गुदस्त हाजी फजुद्दीन याज कडे रुपये पाडण्या करिता खजीन्यातून सन् १२७२ फसली सालात हाथ्थी चे दाताचे मावाल नग ६ वजन करून दिले ते तसलमातीस सापडले त्याची हल्लीं योद इंजीनरी कडून वि: टीकाराम भारवरदार याज कडून आल्या वरून नावे खजीन्या वर हुकुम पावती

११२७ ≡ मार्फत इर्जीनरी वर हुकुम याद आल्यावरून

४१४ मार्फत जुनी टकसाल हस्ते वामनराव गंगाधर

१५४१ ≡

१६८६।.।॥ कृष्णराव गोपाल फडनीस टकसाल याज कडील टकसाला चे उत्पन्न साल मजकूर बारमाही बद्दल

१४७३ ॥– आणी बद्दल दर हजारीं ॥ आणे प्रमाणें सिक्का रुपये २६४७१४८।॥ =

१४॥=।॥ तोल वजन '१ '५ दर मणास सरासरी भावा नें

६१।॥= सोनारी आण दोन बद्दल मजुरी चे बद्दल आकार

७४। ≡। महादू बेलकरी बद्दल सिक्का २६४७१४८।॥ = दर हजारी पैसा १ प्रमाणें टके १४७३।॥ = दर सेकडा २३ भेटीं अखिर साली

१० तारकसाईच्या पेट्यां बद्दल गुदस्त करीमजुम्मा

६ आखेर साली भेट बद्दल

१ पट्टा भेट

६

६ तुलेवदार आ ।।६ दर १ प्रमाणें

१ कुवरजी सिलोट वाला
१ गणेश घनकरी
१ अब्दुला जहांगीर
१ मन्यान जहांगीर
१ हीरालाल मोरकन्द
१ नारायण चासनीगर

६

७ कारखानेदार आसामी

१ पुण्या कोलसे वाला
५ नथ्या जहांगीर गुंजानखाने बद्दल
१ तुका तेली

७

२३

४१।। ☰ ।।। सालमजकूरी आखेर साली हिशोबाचे आणी बद्दल सन १२७३ मालवी साला बद्दल सिक्का रूपये २२,७२७२३।।। दर हजारी १ आणे प्रमाणें आकार १४१।।। ☰ ।।। पैकीं वजा सूट बद्दल सेकड़ा ४ आणे प्रमाणें

१४१।।। ☰ ।।।

पैकीं वजा सालगुदस्त माहे मे महिन्यांत भरणा १०० खजीन्याचे बाकी साल मजकूरी ४१।। ☰ ।।।

१६८६।'।।

३२३०। ☰ ।।। तेरीज जमा साल मजकूर

२६४८६।।।—।। ऐन जमा

३२३०। ☰ ।।। इजाफन जमा

२९७१७।—। तेरीज जमा एकन्दर

४६८१। सीलक साल गुदस्त

२९७१७।—। जमा साल मजकूर

३४३९८=।।

२८८५३।'।। ऐन खर्च

३६४३।।=। मुजाफन खर्च

३२४९६।।।=।।। तेहरीज ऐन खर्च

२६१३८।'।। तहवेल खर्च

२७१५ शाही रूजु खर्च

२८८५३।'।। तहवेल भरणा

२६१३८।'।। हुजुर खजीन्या कडे भरणा नगदी माहेवार व गुदस्तवार वि ।। गोविन्द-

राव खजान्ची जुम्मे चुन्नीलाल पोतदार हस्ते वामनराव गंगाधर व लाला बुधई लाल खासबरदार वर हुकुम पावल्या

३६४६।।ʼ।। माहे जुन उर्फ जेष्ठ मास ता० २६ रोज नगदी

१५८१।≡। माहे जुलाई उर्फ आषाढ़ मास ता० ६ रोज नगदी

६३५७।। माहे अगष्ट उर्फ श्रावण मास

५०० तेथील आठ रोज नगदी

१३५ʼ।। तारीख १७ रोज जवाहरखान्या कडे चांदी पाटची वजन रूपये १२८ भर हस्ते: गप्पू हशान हुजरया बद्दल चिट्ठी हस्ते बलदेव

१२८ एन चांदी पाटाची वजन रूपये भार
७१।। वढ़ती दर सेकड़ा ५।। प्रमाणें
१३५७।।

४००० माहे नवम्बर उर्फ कार्तिक मास

११५० ता० १६ रोज नगदी		आधेल्या	पावल्या
	८००)	१२५)	२२५)
१८०० ता० १८ रोज नगदी		आधेल्या	पावल्या
	१३८५)	२००)	२१५)
१०५० ता० २६ रोज नगदी		आधेल्या	पावल्या
	८००)	१००)	१५०)
	२६८५)	४२५)	५६०)

४००० माहे दिसंवर उर्फ मार्गशीर्ष मास

२२००) ता० २१ रोज नगदी		आधेल्या	पावल्या
	१४५०)	३७५)	३७५)
१८००) ता० २१ रोज नगदी		आधेल्या	पावल्या
४०००	०	११००)	७००)

३५०० माहे जनवरी उर्फ पौष मास ता० २२ रोज नगदी

११२५ माहे मार्च फाल्गुन मास ता० १२ रोज हस्ते लाला बुधईलाल व बामनराव गंगाधर नगदी पावल्या
१०५०) ७५)

३१५० माहे अप्रेल उर्फ चैत्र मास

१५०० ता० १५ रोज नगदी			
१६५० ता० २८ रोज नगदी		आधेल्या	पावल्या
३१५०	९७५)	५२५)	१५०)

४५०० माहे मे उर्फ वैशाष मास

२९०० ता० २९ रोज नगदी · आलेल्या पावल्या

२९०० ० ०

१६०० ता० ४ जून नगदी आलेल्या पावल्या

४५०० ५१०) १०२५) ६५)

२६१३८।'॥ तफसील

२०७३३।'॥ नगदी चांदी

२०५९५ ☰।।। १३५'।।।

३४५० आलेल्या

१९५५ पावल्या

० किता नजराना २६१३८।'॥

१६१३८ '॥

शाही रूजू खर्च

२९९ बद्दल मुशाहरे खर्च

२४१६ खेरीज मुशाहरे खर्च

२७१५

बद्दल मुशाहरे खर्च

२३६ कारकून मण्डली आ ॥३

७० श्यामराव त्रिम्बक ता० १ माहे १२ दर माह रू० १२० प्रमाणें वजा खजीन्या कडून अक्टोबर १०) आखेर ५ माही रूपये ५० बाकी नम्बर तो आखेर मास बद्दल फडस्या

९१ माधवराव गोविन्द ई० जून तागायत माहे मे माहे बारा दर माह रू १३ प्रमाणें आकार रूपये १५६) पैकीं खजीन्या कडून ५ माही रूपये ६५ बाकी सात माही बद्दल फडस्या

७५ गगन बाई कोलकर दर माहे रू ५ प्रमाणें फडस्या

१५) साल गुदस्त माहे मार्च ता ॥ माहे मे आखेर माहे ३

६०) साल मजकूर बद्दल माहे १२ दर ५ प्रमाणें

७५

२३६

६३ सौबन्दी चो माणसे आसामी २ माहे १२ दर माहर रूपये ४॥ प्रमाणे दर माही रूपये १०८ पैकीं वजा खजीन्या कडून ५ माही बद्दल ४५ रूपये बाकी माहे दर माह रूपये ६ प्रमाणें फडस्या

२९९

खेरीज मुशाहरे खर्च

१२ देवस्थान खर्च श्री खेडापति मारुति कडे दर माही दर माह रुपये १ प्रमाणे नगदी हस्ते मंशादास बोआ बर हुकुम पावती

८।'। धर्मादा खर्च

६ सुकानन्द परसई याजला दर माही दर माह रुपये आठ आणे प्रमाणें नगदी हस्ते हरीशंकर वर हुकुम

१।। ☰ पावती साला बद्दल

।। ☰ । किरकोल साधू व बैरागी व ब्राह्मण वगैर मण्डली

८।'।

१७८६।.।।। कारखान्या कडे गुदस्तवार लागवड रुपये बारमाही बद्दल

१२८६।.।।

कोलशे वजन माणी चांदी गालण्यास व रुपये घडण्यास वगैरे

१०८६।। ☰ ।। गुदस्त पुणा लोणारी वजन माणी १८३ ☰

७५। गुंजन सुलेख लोणारी वजन माणी दर माणीस रुपये ६ प्रमाणें माणीस १२।।'।।

२६।। ☰ गुंजन मिस्त्रिखाना वजन माणी दर माणीस ४।।। प्रमाणें वजन माणीस ६।

६४।। ☰ । नगदी ने गुदस्तवार खरीदी वजन माणी

बारामाही चा वजन ११।।१

१२८६।.।।। वजन माणीस २१३।.।।

२३७।।।) तेल गुंजानी कडेस लावणे बद्दल गुदस्त तोल पक्के ।।।३।।४।।० दर माणी रुपये १२।।।)।। प्रमाणें

३०।।। =।।। पाण्याचा पखाली रुपये ३ जलने करीतां गुंजन इमानी भिश्ती सुमारी ११४७ दर सदे सरासरी फुले रुपये प्रमाणें बारा माही

७१।।)।।। चिंच खरेदी रुपये उजलण्या करीता वजन बारामाही माणी ११।।१।।४।।

१६।—।। निवोर्या रुपये उजलण्या करिता गुंजन गणेश माली सुमारी २४४३

१२३।। ☰ ।।। गुदस्त पेमाल जहूर मल्हारगंज वाल्यास यांज पैकीं वेलाई वगैरे

१०१। ☰ ।।। वेल नग सुमाई १६२ त्यांचें वजन पक्कें ।१।।।७।।

१६ पांचा जुन्या नग ३२ त्यांचें तोंड बंधई बद्दल दर नगास ।। प्रमाणें चे

१।) घणाचे तोंड बंधई बद्दल नग २

५ चांदी ढालने वद्दल वजन "४।।=वजन पक्के
१२३।।☰।। ।२'=।।

४।'।। सीसेचे ‑लनी कडे वजन १–१।। दर माणो
रूपये १५ प्रमाणें गुदस्त दारुन भाई जीवा भाई वोहरा यांस नवम्वर कार्तिक मास हस्ते नारायण

६ चपडी तोड्या मोहर करितां दर माही सरासरी भावानें माहे बारा वजन पक्के "६।।–।।०

४ इटां गुदे चांदी गालली जाती तेव्हां मुसे चे ठेक्यास लावणे करिता वारमाही वद्दल सुमारी ७५०

'=। दोरण सुतीका चे ज्योति कडे माहेवार

'= कलोलन सिक्या कडे गुदस्त सिक्या ची घणकरी घणा चे दस्ते वसोंविले त्यांच कडे

'☰।। गुंजन गणेश घणकरी

।–।। गुंजन सालिना देणें वद्दल खरीदवली त्यांतील

४।।— वांट चांदी चे तोलण्यास नवीन करविले त्यांस वद्दल वांट नग ६ वजन रूपये ६७५ त्याचें वजन
"६।।–।। दर रूपये वजन "१।। प्रमाणें पेमाल जहूर

१७८६।/।।।

१४५।।)।। रोशनाई खर्चा कडे गुदस्त वारमाही वद्दल

३४१।।=।। तेल गुदस्त उंकार तेली वजन पक्के माहेवार प्रमाणें वारमाही सरासरी भावाने वजन पक्के १।१।६।।।०

३।।= रूई वाती हस्ते चुन्नी लालनी वारमाही वजन "६।।☰

३४५।।)।।

२७।।–। दफ्तर खर्च कडे कोरे कागज गडया व रिम दस्ते व स्याही खरेदी वगेरे

२२।।☰।। कोरे कागज गडया व वही वगैरे

३।।) स्याही घनशाही टका वजन "६ दर सेरी ।।=

☰ गोंद वजन तारकसेच वारमाही लावण्यास व दफ्तरां कडे मिलून

‾)। वस्र ची परी

‾) रेती वजन "=माहे नवम्वर उर्फ कार्तिक मास

।= रुमाला खरीदे कडे माहे सितम्वर

।=।। दाऊत नग १ तांवे ची हस्ते रावजी त्रिंवक

२७।।–।

१२ शेरणी खर्च सिक्या कडे जुम्मेराती रोजी सिक्का लागतो लावद्दल सोनारास वगैरे दिला जातो त्याज वद्दल हस्ते चुन्नीलाल सोनार

।–। खेरात खर्च जुम्मेरात रोजी फकीराचे जमातीस हस्ते सोनार

३।।–।। मरम्मत खर्चा कडे

१ ≡ ।। मजुरी खर्च बारामही बद्दल

१।। माहे फरवरी उर्फ माघ मास सिक्याचे से चलन चे बुढ पैंदा आहे त्याचे खालचे बुढ जुने इसले सबब नवीन बुढ वसवीणे करितां छत्रीबागतील चिंच चे झाड कापविलें त्याज बद्दल मजूरी काटणे वाल्यास हसन खाजू दरोगा छात्रीबाग वाला नगदा

६ मोहर्रम्म खर्च माहे मे उर्फ वैशाख माह

१६।। दशहरा खर्च खर्चाकडे माहे अक्टोबर उर्फ अश्विन मास

७– दिपावली खर्च माहे नवंबर उर्फ कार्तिक मास

७ भाडे खर्चा कडे-माहे जून उर्फ जेष्ठ मास

१३।=।। कचहरी खर्चा कडे माहे नवंबर उर्फ कार्तिक मास

(टाटपट्टी वैठने के लिये)

२। सक्रान्त खर्च माहे जनवरी उर्फ पोष मास

५ फाग खर्च टकसाल चे समस्त सोनार सरकार चे समक्ष फागाचा इनाम मांगणेस गेले वरून सरकारांतून

७०।।= सूट खर्च माहे एप्रिल चैत्र मास करीम जुमा जहांगीर यांनी टकसालीत माल भावास न पुरत असतां मजकूर जिले माहे फरवरी मार्च दोन महिन्यात रामशोधून थकी बसोन त्याचा घुसा गालविल्या श्यांतसरकारी महसूल उत्पन्न नाका मजकूर जिल्हेस नःराहिल्यामुलें सरकारातअज बद्दल रिपोर्ट केल्यावरून सूट चा हुकुम ता० १८ माहे एप्रिल सन मजकूर बद्दल न० २९९ चा सूट देणे चरा आला त्यांज वरून वर हुकुम सिक्का ५६३२८ दर हजारी ।। प्रमाणें आकार ७०।=

८।– बजे खर्च (दिगर)

१ टकसाल नेटुकडे जुने उजलण्याचे तांवे चे नग २ बुढ़ास फुटले त्याजला नवीन बुद वसवीले त्याज कडे तांवे चे पत्रे नग २ वजन "।।–। भार दर सेरी रु १ ≡ प्रमाणे आकार रूपये १।।–। पैकी वजा जुन बुढा चे पत्रे वजन "।= दर सेरी रूपये ।। ≡ प्रमाणे ।।–। बाकी हस्ते चन्दया कसार नगदी १)

७४। ≡। मावुबेलकरी याजला दर हजारी पैसा १ प्रमाणं बद्दलसिक्का रूपया २९७६३४७'= बारमाही दर हजारी पैसा प्रमाणें टके (सिक्के) १४७३।।= दर रूपयास बारमाही भावानीं रूपयास टके प्रमाणें ७४।। ≡।

२४१६ तेरीज साही खर्च

खर्च

MISCELLANEA

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF A GOLD COIN OF VASUDEVA II

(PL. V)

A gold coin (no. 8716) in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi displays, the king at altar on the obverse, and Oesho with bull on the reverse. The *nandipada* symbol occurs on the obverse and a four-pronged symbol on the reverse. The obverse legend, which starts at 7 o'clock, can be read as (*Sha*) *aonano Shao Ba* (*zodeo*) *Kosho* (*no*) (**Pl. V. 3**).

The coin, which is well executed, seems to be a product of a genuine Kushāṇa mint during the period of a Kushāṇa monarch called Bazodeo of Vāsudeva. The starting point of the legend and the appearance of both the *nandipada* symbol and the four-pronged symbol on this piece relate it to the coins of Vāsudeva II with identical obverse and reverse devices,[1] which served as the prototypes for the imitations of his coinage and also for the Kushāṇo-Sassanian gold coins [2] So the specie in question, issued probably by Vāsudeva II, was minted in or for an area where later Kushāṇo-Sassanian gold coins came into circulation. It is interesting to note that the king on this coin does not wear one of the head-dresses usually worn by the Kushāṇa monarchs[3]. He is adorned with a head gear comparable with the crown peculiar to the Sassanian emperor Shāpūr I[4] (Pl. V. 4-5).

This coin thus poses a problem. A possible solution to this riddle can, however, be found with the help of the known facts about the Kushāṇa-Sassanian relationship.

The Imperial Kushāṇas submitted to the Sassanian monarch Ardashir I sometime before *c.* A.D. 242, when his son and successor Shāpūr I ascended the throne[5]. It has already been suggested that

1. B. N Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, pp. 84-85; Plates VIII and VIIIA nos 4f.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 85f.
3. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, Pl. V, no. 11; Pl. VI, no. 1; Pl. VII, no. 8; Pl. IX. no. A and B; etc.
4. R. Göbl, *Die Munzen Sasaniden im Königlischen Münzkabinett*, Haag, fig. 22; R. Ghirshman, *Persia*, fig. 1970.
5. B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 and 89.

Vāsudeva II was the Kushāṇa ruler who submitted to Ardashīr I[1]. He might have continued to swear allegiance to the Sassanids during the reign of Shāpūr I. But the coin itself cannot be taken to suggest his vassalage. For a vassal could hardly be allowed to use his master's crown. It is, therefore, better to assume that the coin indicates an attempt on the part of the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva II to defy the authority of the Sassanid emperor in a region where the Kushāno-Sassanian gold specie later came into circulation. The area in question should have been in Kushānshahr up to Peshawar, which, according to the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription, was annexed to the empire of Shāpūr I.

The attempt of Vāsudeva II to reassert his independence was apparently futile. The Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of *c.* A.D. 262 proves that the Kushāṇa territory to the west of Peshawar was a province of the empire of Shāpūr I.

B.N. Mukherjee

1. *Syria*, 1958, p. 36; B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

A SILVER COIN OF KSHATRAPA RUDRASIMHA II FROM PAUNAR

(Pl. VI)

The coin published hereunder is from the collection of my friend Shri Raghunath Sanghi of Durga Stores, Nagpur, who is an enthusiastic collector of antiquities. I am thankful to him for bringing this coin to my notice and for permission to study and publish it. The coin is reported to have been found at Paunar in the Wardha District of the Maharashtra State and belongs to the Kārdamaka chief Rudrasiṁha II, son of Svāmī Jīvadāman. It is in a fairly good state of preservation, and a major portion of the legend on the reverse is easily decipherable. It may be described as follows :

Silver; Round; Diameter: 1.3 x 1.3 cms.; Weight: 2.200 gms.

Obv. Usual Kshatrapa bust of the king to right with shr-off's mark on the upper part of the head. Behind head, date. The first digit is clearly 200, the second 30, and the last probably 5, so that the year is 235. There is also a dot after the date which may possibly be a punctuation mark indicating the completion of the legend.

Rev. In the centre, three-peaked hill; below it, a wavy line; on right, star indicated by a cluster of seven dots arranged in a circle, six of them forming a circle and one placed in its centre; on left, a crescent. Circular Brāhmī legend along the edge of the coin beginning at XI o'clock: *Svama—Jivadamaputrasa rajña Kshatrapasa Rudrasahasa* standing for *Svāmi-Jīvadāmaputrasa rājña Kshatrapasa Rudrasiṁhasa*. Of the last three characters, only the lower portion is visible. The lower one of the two dots (*visarga*) seen at the end of the legend on the coins of Rudrasimha II is also legible.[1]

(Pl. VI. 1)

There is divergence of opinion regarding the correct spelling of the name of the chief represented by this coin. Rapson read

1. As suggested by Rapson (*BMC, AWK*, p. 167, note 1 and p. 170, note 8), these dots may be either a misplaced *visarga* or a stop.

the penultimate letter of the name as *ha* and took the name to be Rudrasiṁha.[1] This view is generally accepted by scholars. A. K. Narain, however, proposes to read the letter in question as *na* and concludes that the chief should be called Rudrasena III, and not Rudrasiṁha II, as suggested by Rapson.[2] Altekar maintains that there is no 'conclusive evidence to decide whether the founder of the second Kshatrapa family was Rudrasiṁha......or Rudrasena'.[3] Mirashi accepts Narains view.[4] It is difficult to determine the reading of the controversial name on the present coin as only lowermost portion of the last letter of the name, which looks like a dot, has come out on the coin, the remaining part of the character being out of the flan. It may be read both ways, i.e., *ha* or *na*.

The year 235 was not found on the coins of Rudrasiṁha II published by Rapson who had noticed the dates 227, 229, 231.[5] But subsequently D. R. Bhandarkar noticed this date on five coins of this chief found in the Sarvania hoard and read doubtfully the same date on another coin.[6]

Coins of the Saka Kshatrapas of Chashtana's line have been found in the Vidarbha region from time to time, both in hoards and as stray finds. They have been so far reported from Arvi, Kuṇḍinapura, Washim, Karanja[7] and Paunar.[8] The Kshatrapa chiefs represented by these coins are Vijayasena, Dāmajadasri III, Rudrasena II, Bhartṛidāman, Viśvasena, Rudrasimha II, Rudradāman II and Rudrasena III.

Thus the discovery of a Kshatrapa coin in Vidarbha is not something unique. But so far as the provenance of the present

1. *BMC, AWK*, pp. 170 ff.
2. *JNSI*, XII (ii), pp. 167-69.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
4. *Ibid.*, XXX, pp. 92-95.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170 f.
6. *ASI. AR*. 1913-14, pp. 241 and 245. This hoard contains coins bearing the following dates : 226-232, 234-238.
7. V. V. Mirashi. *Studies in Indology*, III (Nagpur, 1962), p. 93; IV, (Varanasi, 1966). pp. 215-23.
8. S. B. Deo and M. K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavations* (Nagpur, 1968), pp. 11-12, Pl. XIX (c), 1-2.

coin, Paunar, is concerned, it has so far yielded only two Kshatrapa coins, those of Rudrasena II, which have been recovered in course of excavations.[1] This is, thus, the third Kshatrapa coin and the only one of Rudrasiṁha II to be reported from Paunar so far.[2]

The discovery of so many Kshatrapa coins in Vidarbha has been explained variously by scholars. In connection with the Sonpur (Seoni District, Madhya Pradesh) hoard of Kshatrapa coins, G.V. Acharya observed, "Since the Western Kshatrapas are not known to have had any control over the Central Provinces, these coins could not normally have been current in the district and the natural inference would be that someone must have acquired them from the Kshatrapa dominions and buried the treasure with the idea of removing it at a future date."[3] Altekar was of the opinion that the Kshatrapa coins found in the dominions of the Vākāṭakas might have been received by Pravarasena I from his supposed Kshatrapa feudatories Rudrasiṁha II and Yaśodāman II. But apart from the discovery of coins there is nothing to support Altekar's view that these two Kshatrapas had accepted the suzerainty of Pravarasena I. Mirashi thinks that as the Vākāṭakas did not issue their own coins, they did not object to the use of Kshatrapa coins in their dominions. That is why Kshatrapa coins are found in large numbers in Vidarbha.[4]

The problem is really a complicated one and does not admit of a satisfactory solution in the present state of insufficient information. It would therefore be better to leave the question unanswered for the present and go on recording the necessary material with the hope that some day relevant evidence will come forth and help solve this problem.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

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1. *Ibid.*
2. A unique but indifferently preserved Kshatrapa coin has been recently found by Shri Sanghi at Paunar and will be published later.
3. *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLVII, No. p 95
4. V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, III, pp. 95-96; IV, pp. 223-226.

NOTE ON A YAUDHEYA SEAL

In an earlier volume of this *Journal*[1] Bhagavandeva Acharya published four interesting seals of the Yaudheyas from the Hissar District of Haryana preserved in the Haryana Provincial Museum at Gurukula Jhajjar. Of them, No. 1 is undoubtedly the most interesting and P. L. Gupta has appended a note on it.[2] We find it difficult to agree with some of the observations of these scholars. And added to it, the significance of the legend on the seal does not appear to have been fully brought out by them. Hence the present note.

The seal in question[3] is oval-shaped and measures 7 × 6.2 cms. It bears in the upper part, nearly one-third of the entire surface, a humped bull walking to left. The representation of the animal is life-like. Its right hind and forelegs are raised up, thereby suggesting action. Its head is slightly turned to front. Below it and separated from it by a horizontal line running across the breadth of the seal is a five-line inscription in early Gupta characters which has been deciphered by the Acharya as follows :—

Line 1 *Yaudheya-gaṇa Puraskṛitasya Śaṅkararā-*
,, 2 *ja-mahākshatrapa-mahāsenāpater=Indra-*
,, 3 *mitra-gṛihītasya mahārāja-mahākshatrapa-*
,, 4 *Senāpater=apratihata-Śāsanasya*
,, 5 *Dharmamitranandavarmaṇaḥ.*

He takes it to mean that the seal belonged to Dharmamitranandavarman, the *Mahārāja*, *Māhākshatrapa* and *Senāpati* of the Yaudheyas, who was the successor of *Mahākshatrapa Mahāsenāpati* Śaṅkararāja and had imprisoned a certain Indramitra and whose reign was free from all disturbances. Unfortunately, the legend on the sealing in the illustration is not at all legible with the result that we are deprived of a means of verifying the proposed reading. And as the reading itself is not beyond doubt, the interpretation proposed by the Acharya cannot be regarded as certain. Be that as it may, he has evidently arrived at the above interpretation by taking the word *gṛhita* in the sense of 'imprisoned'. The

1. *JNSI*, XXXII (ii), pp. 154-56, Pl. V. 1-4.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 154, Pl. V. 1.

expression *Indramitra-grihitasya*, according to this interpretation, has to be regarded as a *bahuvrihi* compound meaning 'of one who had imprisoned Indramitra'.

There are, however, some difficulties in accepting the above interpretation. First, it must be pointed out that any reference to the imprisonment of an enemy in the legend on a seal is quite unusual. Secondly, even if we were to accept the reading and interpretation suggested by the Acharya, we shall be left with no word to indicate the relationship between Śaṅkararāja and Dharmamitranandavarman, and there would, then, be no basis to regard the latter as the successor of the former. Therefore, the reading and interpretation of the legend merit reconsideration.

P.L. Gupta realised the first difficully and expressed misgivings about the correctness of the Acharya's reading and interpretation. Pointing out that the Acharya himself was not sure about the reading *Śaṅkararāja*, he proposed to read *mahārāja* in its place. Although it is difficult to check the veracity of this suggestion, *mahārāja* is certainly much better than the other reading; at least it would fit in the context very well and would give Indramitra also the title of *Mahārāja* which is used for Dharmamitranandavarman. Secondly, he takes the word *grihita* to refer to succession and not imprisonment. In that case the expression *Indramitra-grihita* will have to be taken as *tritīyā tatpurusha* compound in place of *bahuvrihi* as understood by the Acharya. Thus, according to him, Dharmamitranandavarman[1] was the successor of Indramitra.

So far we are in agreement with Gupta. It must, however, be pointed out that some of his statements are inaccurate. He thinks that as the name-ending on the seal is usually in genitive singular, the legend on the present seal should have ended with-*varmaṇasya*, and not with *varmaṇaḥ*.[2] He is obviously under the wrong impression that the genitive singular always ends in *sya*. In fact, the legend ends in the genitive singular and-*varmaṇaḥ*, not -*varmaṇasya*, is the correct form. Likewise, the statement that *grihīta* 'is a well-known term used by Chandragupta II in his inscriptions in relation to his father'[3] is incorrect; for the word

1. Gupta offers the alternative suggestion that Dharmamitra = friend of rightousness, may be an epithet. Vide *ibid.*, p. 157.
2. *Ibid*, p. 156
3. *Ibid.*

employed in connection with the great Gupta emperor in relation to his father is *parigṛihīta*, not *gṛihīta*. Then again, the word is nowhere used by Chandragupta II himself in his own records; it is found employed for the first time in connection with Chandragupta I in the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta[1]. Thereafter it is known to have been used in several other Gupta records.[2] It must also be pointed out that this term does not necessarily indicate father-son relationship. In some records of the Gupta period it is employed in connection with some provincial governors under the Guptas[3]. In view of this we connot be sure about the exact relationship between Indramitra and Dharmamitranandavarman except that the former was succeeded by the latter. And lastly, the translation of the legend proposed by him, viz., '(The Seal) of one who is appointed by......Yaudheya *gaṇa*; of one who was adopted by *Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa Mahāsenāpati* Indramitra; of one who was *Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa, Senāpati* and *Apratihataśāsana*; and of Dharmamitra Nandavarman'[4], is highly defective and misleading. It leaves the impression that the seal belonged to several individuals some of whom are mentioned only by title and the last one (i.e. Dharmamitranandavarman) by name and that the person for whom the titles *Mahārāja*, *Mahākshatrapa* and *Senāpati* and the expression *apratihataśāsana* are employed was different from Dharmamitranandavarman.

It must be admitted that the construction of the legend is grammatically loose and defective. The genitive singular case ending in *Mahārāja-Mahākshatrapa-Mahāsenāpater*, in lines 1 - 2, which qualifies Indramitra, is uncalled for. The correct construction should be *Mahārāja-Mahākshatrapa-Mahāsenāpat-Indramitra-gṛihītasya* which would serve as an adjective of Dharmamitranandavarman. The import of the legend, then, is that (the seal is of) *Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa Senāpati* Dharmamitranandavarman,

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1. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, I(2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965), p. 321, text line 4.
2. *Ibid* , p.327 Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Purugupta (?), Part II), text line 19; p. 330 (Bhitari Seal of Kumāragupta II), text line 8; p. 339 (Nalanda Seal of Budhagupta), text line 3.
3. *Ibid* , p. 291, text line 2; p. 293, text line 2; p. 332, text line 1; p, 336 text line 2; p, 347, text line 2.
4. *JNSI*, XXXII (II), p. 157.

who was made the ruler of the Yaudheya *gaṇa* (and) adopted by *Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa Mahāsenāpati* Indramitra (and) whose rule was undisputed.

The seal possesses great importance from the point of view of the politico-administrative history of ancient India. The titles *Kshatrapa* and *Mahākshatrapa,* which were of Persian origin, are known to have been popularly assumed by the Śaka chiefs of northern and western Bhāratavarsha. In the latter region we have a long line of Śaka rulers adopting these titles for nearly four centuries, i.e. 1st—4st centuries A.D. In spite of this long usage these titles did not become popular among Indian rulers, and with the unique exception of the seal in question we do not find the title *Kshatrapa* or *Mahākshatrapa* used by any indigenous chief. Why did then the Yaudheya chiefs Indramitra and Dharmamitra-nandavarman assume the title *Mahākshatrapa*? We are in this connection reminded of the Junagadh rock inscription of the Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman I, dated Śaka 72—A.D. 150, wherein we are told that the Śaka Chief had forcibly uprooted the Yaudheyas who had become puffed up with the style of 'brave' among all the Kshatriyas[1]. When the Yaudheyas recovered from this calamity after some time they, or a section there of, came under the influence of the Śakas and adopted some features of their administrative organization, one of them being the assumption of the style *Māhākshatrapa.*

Secondly, the wording of the initial portion of the seal inscription is identical with that of the Bijayagdh stone inscription of the Yaudheyas which may possibly hint at their chronological proximity.

And lastly, the present record, like the Bijayagadh inscription, indicates the impact of monarchy, which had now emerged as practically the only form of government, on the Gaṇa states. It also shows how several offices could now be combined in one and the same person. This reminds one of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta wherein its composer Harisheṇa is said to have held as many as four offices at the same time, viz.,

1. D. C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 178, text lines 11-12.
2. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors, CII,* III, p. 252.

Khādyaṭapākika, *Sāndhivigrahika*, *Kumārāmātya* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*[1].

It would thus follow that the seal is of great value for the history of the Yaudheyas in particular and early Indian administrative history in general.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

1. *Ibid.*, p. 10, text line 32.

NOTE ON AN INTERESTING CARNELIAN SEAL FROM PAUNAR

Paunar in the Wardha District of the Maharashtra State is a site of great antiquarian interest going back to about the commencement of the first millennium B.C. as revealed by the archaeological excavations conducted there in 1967 by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University.[1] In addition to excavated finds, it has also yielded, from time to time, as a result of surface explorations and other factors, interesting objects like coins[2] and seals[3] which have been published in some earlier volumes of this *Journal*. An interesting carnelian seal[4] discovered from the same site in course of surface explorations has been published by S. B. Deo in the Diamond Jubilee Volume of this *Journal*.[5]

This seal, which is beautifully executed, bears a neatly incised short two-line inscription in the reverse order which reads *namo sriye chandrasya*. It is obviously intended for *namah sriyai chandrasya* meaning "salutation to the glory (or beauty) of chandra." As pointed out by Deo, the seal may, on palaeographical grounds, be assigned to the Gupta-Vākātaka period. The epigraph was undoubtedly intended to be in Sanskrit, but the person responsible for prepaiing the draft was not quite proficient in Saṇskrit and could not compose even a simple three-word inscription like this in correct Sanskrit. The engraver, of course, has done his job creditably, except for the omission of the superscript *n* in the word *chandrasya*.

The interpretation of the legend, however, poses some difficulty and it is quite tempting to recollect King Chandra of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription in this connection. The author obviously experienced this difficulty as indicated by the interrog-

1. S. B. Deo and M. K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavations (1967)*, pp. 6-7.
2. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 164-69; XXXIII, Pt. I, pp.80-83.
3. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *ibid.* XXX, pp. 215-17.
4. Deo calls it sealing, but it is clearly a seal as indicated by the legend which is engraved in the negative.
5. *Ibid*, XXXV, pp. 153ff.

ation mark at the end of the caption of his note. But, as I was given to understand in a personal chat, his difficulty veers round the question as to whether the seal is in honour of Chandra or belongs to Chandra himself. He is, of course, sure about the Chandra of this legend being identical with King Chandra of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription who is generally identified with the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. It has been accordingly suggested that the seal was worn by Prabhāvatīguptā on her person in honour of her father Chandragupta II as a token of her gratitude for the valuable help he had rendered her in the administration of the Vākāṭaka kingdom during the minority of her sons. This surmise, which is evidently prompted by the identity of names in this legend and the Meharauli inscription, is said to find support from the use of nail-headed characters which are also used in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā as against the box-headed characters in which the Vākāṭaka inscriptions are engraved. Attention is also invited to the concluding verse of the Meharauli inscription wherein King Chandra's beautiful countenance is compared to full moon.[1]

This suggestion, though ingenius, however, fails to carry conviction. Except the word *chandra* which is found on this seal and also formed part of Chandragupta II's name there is no evidence to justify the supposition that in the seal inscription we have reference to the Gupta emperor. This identity of names is only apparent, not real, as will be shown presently. Although Vākāṭaka inscriptions are generally incised in box-headed characters, the use of non-box-headed characters by itself cannot afford any reliable evidence as to the attribution of the record in question.[2] While the third stanza of the Meharauli inscription compares the charming face of king Chandra to full moon, there is no such comparison in the present legend. There is, thus, nothing to connect this seal with either Chandragupta II or Prabhāvatīguptā. The absence of a regal title or honorific like *śrī* also seems to go against the proposed identification with king Chandra.

What is then the purport of the legend? We feel that the present seal is a relgious one and the inscription on it relates to

1. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I (second edition), p, 284, text-line, 5.
2. We have examples of even Vākāṭaka records not engraved in box-headed characters. *E.g.*, Hisse-Borala inscription of the time of Devasena. See *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 372ff.

lunar worship and purports to pay obeisance to the moon god specially referring to its charming beauty. This reminds us of a large number of religious seals and sealings reported from various ancient sites and bearing legends like *namaḥ Paśupateḥ*,[1] *namo bhagavate Vasudevaya*,[2] *nama Purushotama*,[3] *namastasmai*,[4] *namaḥ*,[5] etc., which indicate the great popularity of seals and sealings with formulae recording salutation to one's favourite divinity. It is pertinent to record in this connection that the clay seal with the legend *nama Purushotama* (*namaḥ Purushottamāya*) also hailed from Paunar, provenance of the seal under discussion. It is well known that worship of planets (*graha-pūjā*) enjoyed great popularity in ancient India and formed part of several religious ceremonies. The moon, in particular, was regarded as the presiding deity of an eclipse, the ninth quinquennial *yuga* of Jupiter's cycle, third year of a *yuga*, the constellation of Mṛigaśiras and the fifth lunar day.[6] Ancient texts furnish instructions for the preparation of the icons of the moon god[7] and *navagraha* panels were employed as architectural members in temples.[8]

The seal inscription, as pointed out above, is in the negative, and the seal must have been evidently employed to produce positive stamps on clay for distribution to the devotees of the moon god on certain occasions. Had it been meant to be used by a single individual as an adornment or otherwise only for his own purpose, and not for stamping, the inscription would have been cut in the positive, not negative.

If this interpretation, which appears very probable, is accepted, it would furnish valuable evidence for the prevalence of lunar worship at Paunar in the Gupta-Vākāṭaka age, thereby adding an important chapter to the religious history of Vidarbha. It also makes an important addition to the *namaḥ* seals.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

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1. K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, (Lucknow, 1972), p. 148.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
3. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 215-17.
4. K. K. Thaplyal *op. cit.*, p. 163.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Brihatsanhita of Varahamihira*, (Delhi, 1969), pp. 166-67.
7. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I (ii), pp. 299-323.
8. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Icnography*, (2nd ed), Pl. XXXI. 1-2.

THE SEAL OF RANAKA BALAKESARI

(PL. VI)

Palpur is a village situated on the bank of the river Mahanadi in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. Late Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya had collected a number of ancient coins from the local *Sonājhārī* people (gold washers) besides a large collection of beads of semi-precious stones, iron tools and potteries. The Sātavāhana coins including the famous unique copper coin of the Sātavāhana king Āpīlaka,[1] square local copper coins with the elephant and Nāga or homo devices,[2] Kushāṇa coins,[3] silver repousse coins of Prasannamātra,[4] gold coins of Kesarī,[5] copper and silver Kalachuri coins,[6] and copper and silver Chinese coins,[7] are representative numismatic finds from Balpur. This proves the political importance of Balpur during the period between *c* 2nd century B. C. and 13th century A. D. The area surrouding Balpur also is rich in archaeological finds.[8] Recently a seal made of red jasper was found in the village. A carnelian seal was discovered long back and a note on it was published by late L. P. Pandeya in the *Journal* of the Orissa Historical Research Society.[9] In spite of being noticed by scholars, nobody has discussed its importance. A casual reference was made to this seal by scholars giving the text in their own way. It is proposed in this note to discuss critically all the proposed readings and dates and to show the importance of the seal in the reconstruction of local history.

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1. *NS*, XLVII (193 -8), pp. 93-94; *JAHRS*. X, pp. 225-6; *IA*,1958-59, *AR*,p.66.
2. *JNSI*, IX, pp. 31ff.
3. In the collection of Pt. Venudhar Pandeya. For the Kushāṇa gold and copper coins from various places of Madhya Pradesh, see Dikshit, M. G., *Madhyapradeśa Ke Purātattva Kī Ruparekhā*, Sagar, 1954, p. 47; *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 109-110.
4. For a comprehensive list of references to the repousse coin of Prasannamātra, see *JNSI*, XXXIV, p. 84, fn.2.
5. *JAHRS*. III, p. 181.
6. *JNSI*, III, pp. 41-4?; *IHQ*. III, pp. 173-76.
7. *JNSI*, X. p. 161.
8. cf. Jain, B C., *NNM*, *NO*.5; *Utkīrna Lekha* (Mahanta Ghasidas Smāraka Saṅgrahālaya, Raipur, Catalogue No. 6), pp. 166-71; Dikshit, *op. cit.*
9. *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, *IV*, pp. 58-59.

The present whereabouts of the seal are unkonwn. I had been to Shri Pyarelal Pandeya, son of late Pt. L.P. Pandeya, but he was unable to trace it in the collection of his late father. Only the ink impression of this seal was published by the scholars,[1] but no details about its dimensions were given. The ink-impression appears to be of actual size and therefore it may be said that it measured 2. 5. cms. in length and 2.5. cms. in breadth approximately. The thickness and other details including arrangements i. e. knob or perforation on the back side—are lacking.

As the legend is positive on the published impression, and the object is denominated by the scholars as seal and *muhara*, it is presumed that the letters were incised on the seal in the reverse order. The depth and breadth of the letters was not uniform which has resulted in the irregular and pointed end-shaped letters. Like this the animal figure placed below the legend is also not well executed

The seal bears a legend of nine letters arranged in two lines with the figure of an animal below it. The legend reads as follows:-

1. *Rāṇaka śrī*—
2. *Bālakesari* (*rī*)[2] (PL VI. 2)

The figure below the legend is unidentifiable as its shape is not clear. It faces left. Its short legs, a little longish pointed mouth and elongated body makes it look like a rat. It may be a dog also.

According to L. P. Pandeya, the figure on the seal may be identified with a boar, bull or mongoose.[3] He placed the seal in *c*. 900 A.D. on the basis of the paleography of the legend, which is deciphered by him as follows.[4]

Rāṇaka Śrī
Vālakeśarī

B. C. Jain listed this seal in his catalogue of seals and coinsfound from old Madhya Pradesh.[5] He has given the

1. *OHRSJ.* IV, p. 59, Pl. I; Dikhsit, *op. cit.*, pl. 13. 50 (The plate number given by Dikshit on p. 57 is incorrect), *Paṇḍit Ravishankar Shukla Abhinandana Grantha*, Nagpur, 1954, Pl. between pp. 186 and 187.

2. [The first *Akshara* of this line is undoubtedly *vā*. Confusion between the letters *b* and *v* and the use of *v* for *b* is very common in the inscriptions of the period to which this seal belongs. In the records of the Somavaṁsins of Orissa and South Kosala *v* is always invariably used for *b*—*A. M. S.*]

3. *OHRSJ.* IV, p. 56.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *NNM*, No. 5.

following reading— *Rāṇaka Śrī*
Bālakesarī

M. G. Dikshit for the first time read the legend correctly.[1] His reading is the same as given in the beginning but without the correction of medial ī for i in the last letter of the second line (i. e. *rī* in the name *Bālakesari*).

As far as the reading of the first line is concerned it is read unanimously by all; but the decipherment of the second line has created some difference of opinion among the scholars. Late Pandeya read the first letter of the second line as *vā*. In view of the fact that the letter sometimes resembles *b* especially in the medieval records,[2] here the letter should be read as *bā* and not *vā*. The word itself being a proper name supports this reading. The other controversial letter is *sa*, read by him as *śa*. As it is clear from the shape of the letter in the published ink-impression, it is definitely *sa* Now remains the last *akshara ri* which is read by some scholars as *rī*. There is no doubt that the medial sign *ī* was intended to be used here as the spelling of the word requires according to the rules of grammar; but there is no doubt that the medial sign for short *i* is engraved with the letter *r* in this seal. This will be more clear when compared with the medial sign for *ī* used in the first line (i.e. in *Śrī*)

The next problem is about the dating of the seal. L. P. Pandeya attributed it to *c.* 900 A. D.[3] M. G. Dikshit followed him.[4] S. N. Rajaguru placed it in *c* 10th cent. A.D.[5] This is all based on palaeographical grounds and paleogarphy is definitely the main criterion for fixing the date, of course with its own limitations. According to L. P. Pandeya the characters of the seal are of the *Kuṭila* type. He was of the opinion that this script was prevalent during 8th—9th century A. D.[6]

The letters of the seal under discussion are very much similar to those of the copper plates of the Somavaṁśī kings of south Kos-

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1. *Op. cit*, p. 57.
2. Ojha, G.H. & Mishra, K.P., *Nāgari Aṅka Aura Akshara*, Prayāga, Saṁvat 2004 p. 21; *Prāchina Bhāratīya Lipimālā*, pls. XXXII-XXXV.
3. *Op cit* p. 58.
4. *Op cit.*, p 57.
5. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, IV, p. 353.
6. *Paṇḍita Lochana Prasāda Pāṇḍeya* (Biography in Hindi edited by Pyarelal Gupta), pp. 125-126.

ala and Orissa[1] and the Hasrakol inscription.[2] Though the chronology of the Somavaṁśī kings ef Orissa itself is controversial yet it is generally accepted that they flourished in about *c.* 11th cent. A.D. The Hasrakol inscription belongs to *c.* 12th cent. A. D. The forms of letters *r*, *ṇ*, *l*, *s*, *b*, and *ś* seen in these inscriptions are exactly identical with those of the present seal. Therefore it would be wiser to place this seal in *c.* 11th—12th cent. A. D.

The seal belongs to Bālakesarin who enjoyed the title of *Rāṇaka*. *Rāṇaka* was a royal title. In the inscriptions it seems to have been used for provincial or subordina'e chiefs (māṇḍalika) and government officials. Probably the earliest epigraphic reference to this word is found in an image inscription of *c.* 8th century A. D. from Rar (Allahabad).[3] After the 11th century A. D. this title gained popularity through the length and breadth of India.[4] *Mahārāṇaka*, a higher title was also used side by side and the famous *Rāṇā* and *Mahārāṇā* titles of medieval Rajasthan were derived from these titles only.[5]

No other epigraphic or literary reference to *Rāṇaka* Bālakesarin is known. In the village Aḍhabhāra there is a broken stone pillar with a fragmentary inscription in the same characters.[6] The name *Śrīkesarī* is found in it, but it is difficult to establish any relationship between the two, as no details are known. Balapur, as stated earlier, has yielded a few gold coins with the legend *Kesarī*. These pieces are supposed to have been issued by the Raṇakesarīn,

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1. *Utkīrṇa Lekha*, plate nos.
2. Ojha, G. H., *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Lipimālā*, pl. XXXV.
3. *EI*, XXII, pp. 3?-39.
4. *cf.* Dantapur copper plate inscription of Eastern Gaṅga king Devendravarman *(Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1948-49, pp. 1-3); Copper plate grant of Chandella king Trailokyavarmadeva of V. S. 1234 *(Ibid*, 1946-47, p. 12). For references in the Pāla, Sena, Varman, Chandra and Bhañja records *vide Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1490, 1492-1523; *EI*, XXII, p.39; Raipur (Baroda) plates of Raṇaka Kajjavaka (*IA*, 1959-60 *AR*,p. 56). For references in the inscriptions of Madhya Pradesh and Vidarbha vide Hiralal, *The list of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, Nos 2, 29, 98, 306; *CII*, IV, pp. 323-4 370-4, 580-2. For *Mahārāṇaka* see *EI*, XXII, pp. 235-90; *CII*, IV, pp. 419-23, 340-44, 419-23,585-6; Hiralal, *op. cit.*; Nos. 212, 303.
5. *Rāṇā* Tribhuvana, the successor of Bhīmadeva II, is mentioned as *Rāṇaka* in the Chiranva (Udaipur) Stone inscription of Samarasiṁha, (V. S. 1330) *EI*, XXII, pp. 285-290.
6. Hiralal, *op. cit.*, No. 280, p. 230; *Revā* (Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Nagpur), September, 1956, p. 35.

brother of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. With this view only M. G. Dikshit sought to relate this seal with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins.[1]

This region was under the rule of the Somavaṁśin kings, who ruled after the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin (also known as Somavaṁśin) dynasty in *c.* 11th–12th centuries A. D. The problem of the relationship between these two dynasties, their chronology, etc., is yet to be solved.

In the copper plate grants of the Somavaṁśin kings a number of *Rāṇakas* are mentioned as *Māṇḍalika*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, and donees.[2] They were appointed as local governors. They enjoyed many rights as we come to know from a copper plate seal bearing the legend *Rāṇaka Śrī-Puñja* and a figure of a swan attached to a grant issued by the Somavaṁśin king Mahābhavagupta II (Bhīmaratha) in his 13th regnal year.[3]

It appears from the above discussion that *Rāṇaka* Bālakesarin was a local feudatory chief of the Somavaṁśīn kings in *c.* 11–12th century A. D.[4] and probably the village name Bālapur was given after his name[5]. This seal is unique as no other official seal with the title of *Rāṇaka* is known so far and hence it is important.[6]

Chandrashekhar Gupta

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1. *Op. cit.*, p. 57.
2. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, IV, Inscription Nos. 8, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25-30, 32, 34, 37.
3. *Ibid*, no. 37; *Utkīrna Lekha*, pp. 65. 59.
4. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, IV, p. 353.
5. *OHRSJ*, VI, p. 55.
6. I am grateful to my teacher Dr. A. M. Shastri who kindly went through the draft of this article and offered his comments.

SOME NEW COINS OF NASIRU-D-DIN KHUSRU

After murdering his master Qutbu-d-dīn Mubārak Shâh I, a convert Hindu of low birth proclaimed himself the Sultan of Delhi with the title of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khusru and ruled over his master's dominions for about four months in A. H. 720 (A. D. 1320).[1] He issued coins in all inportant metals, gold, silver, billon and copper, but his coins have not been found in large quantities, probably because he ruled for a short period only and could not issue coins in very large numbers. I have come across some new coins of this Sultan which are published here.

1. A New Copper Coin

Copper, Round, 11 mm. 37 grains,

Obverse : السلطان

خسروشاه

Reverse : السلطاني

It was about two decades back that Tarapore published a new copper coin of this Sultan bearing the legend *Khusrū Shāh* on the obverse and *Al-sulṭān* on the reverse and weighing 32-26 grains[2]. Our specimen, however, has this combined legend on the obverse and weighs 37 grains. It is thus a new type.

It was found from the old mound of Dhanasia in tahsil Nohar, dirtrict Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan.[3]

2 Two New Billon Coins

1. Billon, Round, 16 mm, 55.5 grains.
2. ,, ,, 15 mm, 24 grains.

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1. H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, (Oxford, 1907), p. 8.
2. *JNSI*, XII, p. 165.
3. I am thankful to Shri Mauji Ram Bhardwaj of Nohar for handing over this coin to me.
[The author does not now possess the photographs of the coins. However, since the coins are of some interest, the same are noticed here. A.M.S.].

Obverse : السلطان الا
عظم ناصر الدنیا
والدین

Reverse : ابوالمظفر
خسروشاه
السلطان د ۷۲

The silver content in these pieces is much higher than the copper content. The difference in the letters of the script on these two coins indicates that they were prepared from different dies. These coins belong to Shri Babhut Mal Dugars collection (Sardarshahr, Rajasthan).

Devendra Handa

THE SMALLEST COPPER COIN OF ALAU-D-DIN KHILJI

The smallest copper coin of Alāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh II, known so far, is the one weighing 21.5 grains, described and illustrated by Nelson Wright.[1] Recently, however, I have obtained a still smaller piece which is being published here.

AE, Round, 9 mm., 13 grains.

Obverse : In a lined circle محمد [شاه]

Reverse : ,, [بحضرت]
دهلی

This thus is the smallest copper coin of Alāu-d-dīn Khilji. It corresponds to a *visua*, i.e., one twentieth part of a *gani* according to Thakkur Pheru.[3]

The coin comes from Pallu in Sri Ganganagar district, Rajasthan.[4]

Devendra Handa

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1. H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, Delhi, 1936. p. 95, Plate IV.
2. Because of the small size of the coin much of the legend is out of the flan. So we are not sure if it was of two lines and corresponded to the obverse legend of the coin referred to above, which has *Adal Mahammad shah* on the obverse.
3. P. [illegible]. Gupta, *Coins*, Delhi, 1969, p. 89.
4. I am very thankful to Shri Mauji Ram Bhardwaj of Nohar (formerly Secretary, Panchayat Samiti, Pallu) who found this coin from the mound at Pallu and gave it to me.

[The author informs that he has now no Photographs of the coin. But as the coin is of some importance it is noticed here- A. M. S.].

TWO COIN DENOMINATIONS

Late Rev. Father Heras published the translation of an inscription belonging to Kadamba Mādhava, a subordinate of Vijayanagara King Harihara II, while writing "On Pre-Portuguese Remains of Portuguese India".[1] The inscription is reported to have been found somewhere in Goa and was published in a Marathi Magazine named *Satsanga.*[2] It also appeared in a Portuguese periodical.[3] It seems that this record has never been edited properly.[4] It is dated Śaka 1313, i.e. 1391 A. D. Some coin denominations prevalent in the Goa area in the 14th century A. D. are mentioned in this record. The present paper purports to discuss them.

The relevant portion of the inscription has been translated as, "The taxes (amounting to) one hundred and twenty-eight Rājyaṭaṅkkas and twenty-two Jaithalas obtained from the Gowali village and 39 Rājyṭaṅkkas and twelve Jaithalas from the village of Mouli, which when taken together from both these villages amount to 367 Rājyaṭaṅkkas[5] and 34 Jaithalas". We, thus, are introduced to two interesting coin denominations, which have not been properly discussed before.

Rajyatankka:

This denomination of a coin is very interesting because so far we know only *ṭaṅkas* of different metals such as gold and silver. But here we find a specific type of *ṭaṅka* coinge. The *Padmaṭaṅkas* are known to us since long; they are so—called because they carry the representation of a lotus device on them. There is no denying the fact that the coin named *ṭaṅka* is very common in numismatic

1. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, IV , pt. II, pp. 27f.
2. Now defunct as Heras writes in 1930 in the above-mentioned journal.
3. Pissurlekar, *O Oriente Portugues* (A Portuguese Periodical from Goa), 18, pp. 36-48; 22, pp. 421-41 (as quoted by V. T. Gune in his *Inscriptions of Goa*, p.5).
4. However, two records of the same date and belonging to the same individual have already appeared. See *JBBRAS, IV*, pp. 107-10; IX, p. 225, *Bharata Kaumudi*, Part, I, p. 475 (note); G.S. Gai, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1962-63.
5. Possibly a printing mistake for 167 Rājysṭaṅkkas.

annals of India in its slightly different versions of *ṭaṅka, ṭaṅkka*, and *ṭaṅga*,[1] the prototypes of modern *ṭakā*. The traces of this variety of coin denomination are also preserved in *ṭāṅkis* and *Rāmaṭaṅkis* of late mediaeval period.[2]

The word *ṭaṅka* means the punched coin. It generally denotes the silver punched coin of a specific weight. Though we know, for certain, that silver, gold and copper *ṭaṅkas* were in circulation in ancient India, their metrology was, of course, different at different times. The Kadambas are known to have issued the cup-shaped gold coins commonly known as *Padmaṭaṅkas*.[3] These stand for a specific variety of early Kadamba coinage. The *Padmaṭaṅkas* and *ṭaṅkis* were also issued by other dynasties.[4] They might have copied Kadambas in this respect. It can be suggested here that the *Rājyaṭaṅkkas* belonging to the same stock of rulers might also have stood for a specific variety of their coinage. But Mādhava was subordinate to the Vijayanagara monarch. Whether he had authority to issue the coins or not can be determined precisely.

The word *Rājyaṭaṅkka* is the combination of two Sanskrit words, *rājya* i.e. state and *ṭaṅkka*. The word *rājya* seems to be an adjective to the noun *ṭaṅkka*.[5] It would mean *ṭaṅkkas* of the state i.e. king. Thus these royal *ṭaṅkkas* were issued either to mark some specific occasion or for some uncommon purpose. It also hints at another probability, viz., that there were other *ṭaṅkkas*, most probably of the guilds. So it can be assumed that these *ṭaṅkkas* were issued by the state i.e. king, and to differentiate them from their counterparts of the guilds in circulation they were called *Rājyaṭaṅkkas*. The *Rājyaṭaṅkkas* might have borne some royal insignia as the device. The *Rājyaṭaṅkkas* were not synonyms of the

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1. According to Erskine the word *ṭaṅga* is of the Chagatai Turki origin being derived from *tagha*, *History of Babar and Humayun*, I, p. 546, as quoted in *Hobson Jobson*, pp. 896-98,.
2. Actually these later denominations were in the process to lower the value of this coin denomination up to two Paisa (*ṭākā*) of British India. It seems that the British silver rupee had replaced the ancient *ṭaṅkā* for good.
3. Elliot, *Old Copy*, Part II, 75-77 *ante* p., 206, as quoted by G. M. Moraes in his *Kadambakula*, p. 386; Khare G. H., *JNSI*, III, p.53.
4. Khare, G. H , *JNSI*. *III*, p. 53; Altekar, *ibid.* VIII, p. 147 (B and C only); Chakravarti M. M., *JASB*. LXI, p. 207.
5. [Actually there is *shashṭhī tatpurusha* compound which would give the required sense-*A. M. S.*].

so-called *Padmaṭankkas*. It was in all probabiliy a silver variety of the coinage, because the context of their mention does not give grounds to conjecture that it was a gold variety. The *Rājyaṭaṅkkas* represent the silver currency of the kingdom in which these were in circulation[1]

Jaithala :

We come across a coin named Jital (Jaitil) in the coinage of the Sultans of Delhi and Jittal in the Mughal Currency.[2] The coin named Jaithala is referred to by Arab travellers in a slightly changed form of *djitel*.[3] Its mention in an epigraph belonging to a subordinate of the Vijayanagara dynasty suggests that it was an indigenous coin. If all these references stand for one and the same coin denomination, *Jaithala* (*Jeetal*, *Jittal* or *Jital*)[4] would be an old Indian coin denomination, now entirely discarded.[5] There is a Portuguese coin named *Ceitils* which survived for long on the western coast of India. It was perhaps a small coin for day to day use. It is doubtful, however, if *Ceitils* is linguistically the same as *Jaithala* There is a medieval Portuguese coin called *Ceital* and *Ceptil*.[6] This may have got confounded with the Indian *Jital*. Since all these coin denominations are of copper variety, in all probability Jaithala was also a copper coin. The context of its occurrence in the record also supports this conjecture. How many *Jaithalas* were equal to a *Rājyaṭaṅkka* ? What was the proportion of metals in both these coins ? We have no concrete evidence at our disposal to answer these questions.

The metrology of this coin denomination varied during the long period it remained in circulation.[7] This copper coin was

1. [The *Rājyaṭaṅkas* were probably standardised royal issues and so-called in order to distinguish them from other issues put into circulation by some private agencies-*A. M. S.*]
2. Brown, C. J., *The Coins of India*, p. 74.
3. K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, (Third Edition) p. 338.,
4. *Hobson Jobson*, pp. 557-58.
5. [As *Jital* or *Jittal* is mentioned in connection with the Sultans of Delhi at least a century earlier than the record of Madhava in question, it would appear more reasonable to regard *Jaithala* as the Indianised from of *Jital* or *Jittal*-*A. M. S.*]
6. Fernandes in *Memorias de Academin Roal das sciencias di Lisbon*, 2 da classe 1856, as quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*.
7. The *Jittal* of Delhi coinage of Ala-ud-din was according to E. Thomas' calculation 1/64 of the silver *ṭaṅga*, the coin in later age called rupee.

common upto the 17th century A.D. at Carwar where one Jittal was equal to six pices and 48 Jittals equal to a *Pagoḍā*.[1] According to Nilakantha Sastri, "Copper coin worth the third of the *Tar* was *djitel*".[2] We know that *Tar* was a silver coin and 6 *Tars* were equal to one *Fanam*. Shihabuddin (1340 A.D.) informs us that "the *dirhem sultani* is worth 1/3 of *dirhem Shashtari* and worth 3 *fals*, whilst the *Jital* is 4 fals[3]. Ziahuddin Barni says that in the same year (1290 A.D.) there was dearth in Delhi and grain rose to a *jital* per sir (seer).[4] Brown, on the authority of Nevill and Wright, informs us that in Daulatabad and South, in the time of Mohd. Bin Tughalaq *taṅka* was divided into 50 *Jittals* (for Delhi it was divided into 48 *Jiitals*).[5] This indicates that 50 *Jittals* in South were eqal to one silver *taṅka* and the rate of exchange was different for southern and northern India.

It follows from the above that the metrology of the *Jaithala* or *Jital* is somewhat confused. It varied according to time and economic conditions of the kingdoms where it was in circulation. In all probability the British Paisa was the successor of old *jital*. Nothing can be definitely stated about its weight, value and relative proportion. It was a small denomination meant for daily exchange and purchases of small articles of day to day need.

D. P. Dikshit

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1. Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, I, p. 282.
2. Nilakantha Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 338.
3. Shihabuddin in *Notices at extraits*, XIII, p. 212.
4. Elliot and Dowson, II, (1867, ed.) p. 146.
5. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 74.

A SILVER DOUBLE TANKA OF BAZ BAHADUR

(Pl. VI)

My visit to Delhi in September' 73 gave me an opportunity to see an unusual silver *Tanka* of Baz Bahadur. It bears on the obverse, the Kalima and on the reverse, the name and titles of the issuer of the coin. It bears the portions of the date, which may be read as 973 A.H.

The coin under review is interesting in more than one ways. It differs from hitherto published silver *Tanka* of Baz Bahadur in respect of size, weight and legend.[1] It may be regarded as the earliest coin of the ruler. The details of the coin are as under:—

Shape ; Round
Metal ; Silver
Size ; 1″
Weight ; 13.500 grammes (207 grains)
Legend :

Obverse	*Reverse*
	ادو المظفر
The Kalin a	ان بہادر شاہ سلطان
	خلی اللہ املاہ
	۹ ۷۳

(Pl. VI. 3)

1. Two silver coins of this ruler have been published so far, one in 1937 by C. R. Singhal and the other in 1972 by the present author. The details of both the coins are as under.—

C. R. Singhal's coin
Shape ; Round
Metal ; Silver
Size ; O 75"
Weight; 106 grains
Mint marks; Nos 27 & 34
Legend; *Obv.* *Rev.*
The Kalima
(با)ذبہادر شاہ سلطان
خلی اللہ ملاہ

Author's
Shape ; Round
Metal ; Silver
Size ; O. 8"
Weight ; 106 grains
Date ; 969 A. H.
Legend; *Obv.* *Rev.*
The Kalima
(با)ذ بہادر شاہ
ادو المظفر
*خلی اللہ لملاہ
۹۶۹

For the details of C. R. Singhal's coin refer to, 'On Certain Unpublished Coins Of The Sultans Of Malwa' *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLVII, 1937, III. pp. 121-1372, Coin no 137, pl 13.

For the details of my coin see *JNSI*, No. XXXIV.

The size and the weight of the coin makes it an unusual one in the series of the Sultans of Malwa. The standard size of the coin of the Sultan of Malwa has been divided into the following four classes:-[1]

Ist class	1.05 to 0.95″
2nd	0.80 to 0.75″
3rd	0 55′
4th	0.45''

Till now, in the Ist class standard size, the coins of Hoshang Shah, Mahmud I and Ghiyas Shah were known.[2] Last year a silver *tanka* of Nasir Shah of this standard was noticed and published by me.[3] The *tanka* under review is the first coin of Baz Bahadur of Ist class standard which has come to our notice. The two published *tankas* were of 2nd class standard (.8″ and .75″ respectively). Thus from the point of view of its large size, the coin appears to be of great interest.

Similarly, the weight standard of the coins of the Sultans of Malwa has been divided into the following three groups:-[4]

1. 96 *Ratti* standard with its halves and quarters			
	43	24	One *Ratti* =
2. 80 *Ratti* standard	40	20	1.8 grains
3. 65 *Ratti* standard	32	16	

The published coins of Baz Bahahur, referred to earlier, were of 3rd standard, with 65 *ratti* weight. The weight of the coin under review is 207 grains, which is nearly double the 64 *ratti* standard (128 grains). In the light of this fact, the coin can safely be designated as Double Tanka. That way it becomes interesting in the series of the coins of the Sultans of Malwa.[5]

1. Vide L. White King's article on 'History and Coinage of Malwa' *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth series, III, p. 64.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Vide The Journal of the Numismatic Society of Madhya Pradesh*, No. 1 (1973), pp. 40-41. Pl. 1. 14.
4. *Vide* H. Nelson Wright's article, 'The Coinage of the Sultans Of Malwa', *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, XI, (1981), pp. 297-300. L. White King had suggested 100 *ratti* standard instead of 96 *ratti*. Here H. Nelson Wright appears to becorrect in taking it as 96 *ratti* standard.
5. A coin in this standard *ratti* was noticed earlier by L. White King in the British Musuem Collection. It was a gold coin of Ghiyas Shah with its weight as 207 grains (near about 124 *ratti*). Unfortunately, the same for its heavy weight, was taken as not genuine by H. Nelson Wright. *Vide Numismatic Chronicle*. XI, p. 297. Now with the availability of this coin with

The moment we take the coins as a double *tankā*, there arises the question about the circumstances which might have led the ruler to issue it. Shujat Khan, the governor of Malwa, when Humayun re-established himself on the throne of Dehli, was on the point of declaring himself independent and of coining money, but died in 962 A H.[1] During his life time, he had divided his dominions among his three sons, Daulat Khan, Malik Bayzid and Mustafa Khan. On the death of Shujat Khan, there started a war among his sons for capturing the throne, where in Malik Bayzid treacherously killed his brother Daulat Khan near Ujjain, and took possession of the territory of Malwa. Thus, in 963 A.H. he (Malik Bayzid) had the royal umbrella raised over his head and gave himself the title of Baz Bahadur Shah[2]. The date on the coin has been cut; hence it is difficult to read it definitely. It may be read as 963 A.H. and it being the year of Baz Bahadur's accession to the throne of Malwa, one wonders if this (commemorative) issue is connected with that event.

S. K. Bhatt

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its weight as 207 grains, we should accept L. White king's view that the sultans of Malwa did issue coin in 128 *ratti* standard (double Tanka).

1. According to Firishta, he died in 962 A. H. while the author of *Cambridge History Of India,* III, p. 371 says that he died in 963 A. H. Briggs, IV, p. 275.
2. Briggs, p. 276. *Tabkat-i-Akbari,* III, p. II, p. 629 (Eng. Tr.)

SOME BARID SHAHI COINS

(Pl. VI)

The copper coins of Barid Shahi dynasty, which emerged at Bidar after the decline of Bahmani dynasty, were earlier described in this Journal by Hurmuz Kaus,[1] Dinkar Rao[2] and the author of this note.[3] The coins of three rulers, namely, Ibrahim Barīd, Qasim Barīd II and Ali Barīd III are extant. Recently, I acquired a few coins of this dynasty which are different from the known types. The details of these coins are as follows:

Coin (1): Metal: Copper; Diameter: 210 m.; Wt. 15-19 grammes.
Legend:

Obverse	*Rever*
بنصرالله	العادل
المويدلممالشاه	السلطان
ب ر(ل)	اميربريدشاه
[والغازی برید]	بار۶۲

(Pl. VI. 4)

This is a unique coin which bears on the obverse the regal title of the king as 'Abul-Ghazi Barīd ul Mumalik Shah', meaning 'The Father of Victors, the Messenger of Empire's Shah.' The reverse bears the usual inscription 'As-Sultan-ul-Adil Amir Barīd Bar... meaning the just king Amir Barīd Shah' and a word commencing with letter *bā*. The date inscribed below is not discernable but two figures seem to be 62

Qasim Barīd, the founder ruler of this dynasty, and his son Amir Barīd I, who were prime-ministers of the Bahmani Kings were conferred with title 'Barīd-ul-Mumalik' by the Bahmani Kings.[4] Qasim Barīd did not assume the regal title of Shah.[5] But

1. *JNSI*, 1945, pp. 51-53.
2. *Ibid.*, XX, pp. 230-31; *ibid.*, XXII, p. 83.
3. *Ibid.*, XXI, Part I, pp. 58-66; *ibid.*, XXVIII, Part I, pp. 82-83.
4. *Burhan-e-Ma'athir*, Hyderabad edition, p. 141.
5. Firishta, III, p. 497.

Firishta[1] refers to amir Barid I, the second ruler as صاحب‌سکه (one who struck coins). The study of inscriptions reveals that Ali Barid I was the first ruler who assumed the title of Shah.[2] The inscription of Rangin Mahal (Bidar fort) refers to him as Barid ul Mumalik with the following reading:

'المستنصر بنصر الله الملک الممالک' المجلس الکرم والهمایون الکرم برید ممالک علی'

"The invoker of Divine help, the Supreme King, the Benevolent Council, the most fortunate, the Messenger of Empire's Ali".[3]

As this coin mentions the king as Barid ul Mumalik and also as Amir Barid Shah, it can be ascribed to Ali Barid I, because Ali Barid I was the first ruler to assume the title of Shah. All these rulers have assumed the title Amir Barid Shah on their coins.

Coin (2): Metal : Copper; Shape : Circular; Diameter : 1·6 cm.; Wt. : 6.12 grammes.

Legend :

Obverse	*Reverse*
بنصرالله	سلطان
المويد	امیر برید
ضرب	

The coin is very similar to the small - size copper coins of Ibrahim arid[4] which bear the following inscription :

Obverse	*Reverse*
بنصرالله	سلطان
المويد	امیربریدشاه
٩٩٣	بانی

(Pl. VI. 6)

Like the coins of Ibrahim Barīd it bears on the obverse the legend المويد بنصرالله But the date A.H. 993 is missing and in its place the word Zarb is inscribed. The mint-name is missing. The reverse of the coin bears the usual legend, As-Sultan Amir Barid Shah. In the absence of the date this coin cannot be ascribed any particular ruler with certainty. However, the similarity of the

1. Firishta, MSS, p. 294 (State Library, Hyderabad).
2. *Bidar, its History & Monuments*, p. 32; an inscription dated A. H. 977 (1570 A. D.) on the Canon of Top-e-Illahi mentions him as Ali Barid Shah.
3. *EI*, *Mosl*, 1927-28, p. 25.
4. *JNSI*, XXI, Part I, p. 62, pt. V, coin nos. 6, 10 & 11.

legends on the obverse and reverse with those the coins of Ibrahim Barid suggests that, perhaps, this is a new coin type of Ibrahim Barid.

Coin (3) : Metal : Copper; Shape; Circular; Diameter: 2.2 (m., Wt.: 16.15 gramme.

Legend :

Obverse	*Reverse*
بنصرالله	العادل
المويدالملک	السلطان
القوی الغنی	امیربریدشاه
	بانی ١٨

(Pl. VI 6)

This coin is similar to the coins of Mirza Ali Barid III[1] (1009-1018 A.H.), the eight ruler of this dynasty in respect of the legends of the obverse and reverse. The king has assumed the same regal title As-Sultan-ul-Adil, Amir Barid Shah (The Just King, Amir Barid Shah) on the reverse of the coin. But it contains the extra title Bali or Bani inscribed on the lower side of the coin instead of the title 'Barak' found on the coins of Ali Barid III. The word '*Bani*' means 'Builder'. The date inscribed at the lower side is readable as –18 which stands for 1018 A.H. This date suggests that this coin pertains to the last ruler, Amir Barid III (1018–1027 A.H.).

Coin (4): Metal : Copper : Shape : Circular : Diameter: 2.1 (m., Wt: 17-210 grammes.

Legend:

Obverse	*Reverse*
بنصرالله	العادل
المويدالملک	السلطان
القوی الغنی	امیربریدشاه
	بانی ٢٨

(Pl. VI. 7)

This is another coin of Amir Barid III with the date inscrbed at the lower side of the coin as 28 and so it may be 1028 A.H. This date signifies that closing year of this king and extinction of this dynasty is 1028 A.H. and not the year 1027 A.H., as mentioned by Basatin.

A. H. Sidddiqui

1. *Ibid.*, XXI; Part, p. 59, pl. V, Coin Nos. 1-4.
2. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, Hyderabad Lithograph, pp. 272-3.

A COPPER COIN MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH II OF PUNANAGAR MINT

(Pl. VI)

When Ahmadnagar, the capital city of Nizam Shahi rulers, was captured by the armies of Emperor Akbar in the year A. H. 1009[1] (A. D. 1600) and the Nizam Shahi king Bahadur Nizam Shah was sent as prisoner to the fort of Gwalior, the nobles of Nizam Shahi kingdom enthroned Murtaza Nizam Shah–II at Parenda. Later on Malik Ambar, who was a Nizam Shahi general, became his supporter. Meanwhile in the year A. H. 1013 (A. D. 1604), prince Salim revolted against Emperor Akbar. This was followed by the death of Emperor Akbar in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605). Then prince Salim ascended the throne as Jahangir and he had to contend the claims of his step-brother Khusro Abdur-Rahim Khan-e-Khanan, the Mughal governor of Gujrat and Deccan, was conciliatory partly because of this situation and partly because of his ancestral connection with the Persian clan, Qara Quainlu, with which Nizam Shahi rulers were also connected through matrimonial relations (Chand Bibi's mother was a Persian woman of Qara Quainlu clan). This made Malik Ambar very active. He shifted the Nizam Shahi capital firstly to Junnar[2] or Junair and then finally to Daulatabad[3] in the year A. H. 1016 (A. D. 1607).

The copper coins of Murtaza II of Ahmadnagar mint were described by the author of this note[4] and it was concluded that, although during the reign of Murtaza II Ahmadnagar was in occupation and control of Mughal armies, the coins of Murtaza II from this mint were struck with the following legend :

Obverse	*Reverse*
مرتضى	شهور فى
رنگ احمدن	سنه
ضرب	

1. Elliot & Dowson, VI, p. 114:.Bugg, III, p. 303.
2. Firishta, II, p. 166; Basatin, pp. 256-257.
3. *EI, Mosl.* Suppl., 1933-34, p. 3.
4. *JNSI*, XXVIII, Misc., 23.

In my collection there is onother coin of Murtaza II which is very similar to the above mentioned coins of Ahmadnagar but it bears a different mint-name. The name of the mint I read as Punanagar. The description of this coin is as follows :

Metal : Copper; Shape : Circular; Diameter 1.9 cm.; Weight : 9.650 grammes.

Obverse	*Reverse*
مرتضی	شہور فی
پوناگر	(سنة)
(ضرب)	

(Pl. VI. 8)

This coin has better calligraphy than coins the of Ahmadnagar mint. It seems that during the time when the capital of Nizam Shahi Kingdom was shifted to Junnar between A. H 1012 (A. D. 1603) and A. H. 1016 (A. D. 1607), the entire territory around Junnar was under Nizam Shahi jurisdiction. During this period this coin has been struck from Punanagar, which was perhaps a strong base of operation against the Mughals. The mint-name Punanagar can very well be identified with the present city of Poona or Pune which is not very far from Junnar or Junair. Further, Punanagar was held as Jagir or fief by Shahji Bhonsle, father of Shivaji, who was one of the prominent generals of Nizam Shahi dynasty and it is more likely that this coin was perhaps struck by Shahji Bhonsle.

A. H. Siddiqui

THE COPPER COINS OF IMAD SHAHI DYNASTY OF BERAR

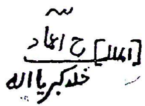
(PL. VI)

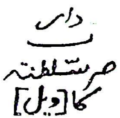
The Imad Shahi dynasty is one of the five dynasties which emerged in the Deccan at the disintegration of the Bahmani dynasty, Whereas the coins of other four dynasties-Adil Shahi, Nizam Shahi, Barid Shahi and Qutub Shahi are extant, no coin of Imad Shahi dynasty has been reported so far. This led to the suggestion that perhaps, the rulers of this dynasty did not strike coins because of their sub-ordinate position. But this view is quite contrary to the practices among Muslim ralers according to which coiuage and recital of the name in the Friday prayer are the most important prerogatives of kingship.

In my colletion there are two copper coins which can be ascribed to Imad Shahi dynasty. The details of these coins are as follows :—

Metal : Copper; Shape : Circular; Diameter : 1.7 cm,; Weight : 8.9 & 8.40 gm.

Obverse *Reverse*





(Pl. VI. 9-10)

The cbverse of these coins bears the dynastic appellative *'Imad'* and it is distinctly visible on both the coins. On coin (i) the letter *hai* and above it the word *Allah* are also noticeable. So the name of the king can be reconstructed as *'Fathullah Imad*. As earlier rulers of these dynasties did not assume the title of *Shah*, the complete name of the king may be Fathullah Imad-Ul-Mulk. The lower side of the coin contains the prayer as خلدکبریا الله *Khalad kibriya illahu*, which means 'Let Allah perpetuate the greatness.'

The reverse of the coin bears the legend *Zarab Darus-Saltonatai, Gawil*, meaning struck at the capital city, Gawil.

There were four rulers of this dynasty, who ruled for 85 years.

1). Fathullah Imad-Ul-Mulk	895 / 1490	–	910 / 1504	A.H. / A.D.
2). Alaudin Imad Shah	910 / 1504	–	936 / 1529	A.H. / A.D.
3). Darya Imad Shah	636 / 1529	–	968 / 1560	A.H. / A.D.
4). Burhan Imad Shah	968 / 1560	–	980 / 1572	A.H. / A.D.
5). Tafal Khan (Usurper)	980 / 1572		A.H. / A.D.	

The last ruler, Burhan Imad Shah was dethroned by his minister Tafal Khan who ruled himself for a short time and finally Murtaza Nizam Shah II annexed Berar in his kingdom.

A. H. Siddiqui

A SILVER COIN OF MANIPUR

(Pl. VII)

The paesent silver coin was noticed by the author in the collection of N. S. Duggal of Calcutta. This is an extermely rare coin of [1] Chaurajitsiṁha of Manipur. The description of the coin is as follows:—

Metal—AR.; Weight—11.455 gm.;

Size—2. 1 cm. × 2. 1 cm; Shape—Square;

Language—Sanskrit; Script—Devanāgarī.

Obverse: Legend in four lines and within the square border

1. *Śrīaman—Mani [pure]*[2]
2. *Śvara—Śrī Chauraji—*
3. *ta—siṁha—nṛpa—va [ra]—*
4. *sya* Śāke *173* [*4*]

Reverse: As on the obverse.

1. [*Śri—ma*] *d— Rādha—G*[*o*]—
2. *Vinda—padāravi*
3. *(n) da—makaranda—ma*
4. *no—madhukarasaya*

(Pl. VII. 1)

The State of Manipur, lying to the east-of Bangla

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1. One photo copy of a Silver coin of king Chaurajitsiṁha, dated 1734 Śaka, has been preserved in the State Archives of the Govt. of Manipur [vide *Indian Historical Records Commission, 41st Session, Trivandrum* (10th-12th october, 1971), under 'Government of Manipur] ; another clear photo copy of similar coins is in the possession of Mr. N. Khelchandra Singh of Manipur, who is said to have received the impression from one such coin now preserved in the Shillong Museum, Assam. For drawing of the legends of the present coin I am indebted to Sri Gautam Sen of Siliguri.

2. This portion of the first line is not clear and may be restored as *Śrī-mān-mān-mānaśrī*. But on the basis of a similar but clearer photo-copy found in the possession of N. Khelchan dra Singh of Manipur I prefer to read this portion as *Śrī-man-Manipure*.

desh and Assam, beteen 23° 50' and 25° 41' N and 93° 2' and 94° 47' E, within an area of 8, 456 square miles[1], has long had an independent existence It was known to the Shāns as'ka–se' (or Cassay) and to the Burmese as 'ka–the' which is evidently a corruption of 'Ka-se' (or, Cassay'); the Kacharis named it 'Magli' (or, 'Moglie) and the Āhoms 'Mekheli' (or, 'Meklee'), while the old Assemese name for it was 'Moglau'[2]. The Meitheis or Manipuris are the most advanced section of the Kuki–Chin people who form the easternmost group of the Indo–Mongoloids.[3] They have records which 'purport to carry back their history to the thirtieth year of the Christian era'[4]. We get a list of 47 kings who reigned upto 1714 A. D. and sober history of Manipur practically begins from that year. The year 1714 has been taken to be the date of the accession of king Pamheiba alias Gopāla–simha or Gharib–nawāz.[5] The history of the coinage of Manipur can, however, be traced from a much earlier period.[6]

Few types of small coins made of bell–metal were in circulation in Manipur from an early period. Some of these coins with

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1. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XVII, Oxford, 1908, p. 184.
   The State is bounded by Nagaland on the north, by Burma on the east, by Burma and the Lushai-Mizo hills on the south and by the District of Kachar of Assam on the west. R. B. Pemberton observes that 'the territories of Muneepore have fluctuated at various times with the fortunes of their princes, frequently extending for the three or four days journey east beyond the Ningthee or Khyendwen river, and west to the plains of Kachar' (*Report on the Eastern Frontier British India*. Calcutta, 1835, p. 20).
2. R. B. Pemberton, *op. cit.*, pp. 1920. See also E. Gait, *A History of Assam*, 3rd ed , Calcutta, 1963, p. 321. In Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoosthan*, London, 1793, it is called 'Mecklay'.
3. S. K. Chatterjee, *Kirāta-Jana-Kṛiti*, Calcutta, 1951, p. 77. The opinions of R. B. Pemberten, T. C. Hodson (*The Meitheis*, London, 1908), Brian H. Hodgson (*JASB*, XXII, 1853) and E. Gait may be consulted in this respect.
4. E. Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 32. cf. *The Ceitharol Kumbaba* (a manuscript regarding the, chronicles of the kings of Manipur and historical events from 33 A. D. writaen in old Manipuri script on hand-made paper), now lying in the State Archives of Manipur.
5. E. Gait, *loc. cit.* S. K. Chatterjee, *loc. cit.* Tradition recorded In literature places him between 1709 and 1748. See *Ghada-Lāihui*. ed. N. Khelchandra Singh, 1966, p. 109.
6. R. B. Pemberton, *op. cit.*, p. 37. But according to Mutun Sri Jhulon Singh (cf. *Houkhiba Wari-Bijay Pañcali-Manipur Itihās*.) Gharīb-nawāz ascended the throne in 1709 A. D.

mā on the obverse have been observed by V. A. Smith,[1] while others with the legend *Śrī* have also been noticed recently.[2] These coins were known as *shel*-or *shen-mak-hāi*.[3] Some of them are round and othres square. According to Mc. Culloch[4] Khagemba (1597-1652) was the first king of Manipur to introduce bell–metal coinage. The archives of the Govt. of Manipur possess twenty bell–metal coins (Shen Makhāis).[5] After Khagemba Marangba, Kyamba, Paikhomba (1666-97), Charairongba and Gharīb—nawāz also issued bell-metal coins. The archives of the Govt. of Manipur also possess one photo copy of bell—metal coins of Khagemba, Paikhomba and Gharīb—nawāz.[6] The coins of Paikhomba are round and faintly marked, while those of Charairongba are square with distinct letters and of Gharīb—nawāz are round and well–made coins with superior lettering.[7]

Gharīb—nzwāz was a great champion of Chaitanya—Vaishnavism. After him ruled Moramba or Gaura-śyāmasiṁha who was a devout Vaishṇava. Chingthanga-Khomba or Bhāgya-chandra Jaya-siṁha (1759-98) is said to have brought about still more intensive Vaishṇavisation of the Manipur people.[8] In the opinion of S.K. Chatterjee 'from the time of Jayasiṁha, in the place of the old thin fragments of bell—metal used as coins, a Manipuri coinage came in rather crude in form, in which only the initial letters of the names of the kings were given.[9]

It may, however, be mentioned in this connection that though

1. Smith, however, incorrectly described these coins as made of copper, See V. A. Smith, *CCIM*, I, Indian Reprint, 1972 p. 297.
2. Jyotirmoy Roy, *History of Manipur*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 168.
3. The value of the *Shel* was extremely low. It is said that during the second half of the 19th century 500 *Shel* coins were equivalent to one British Indian rupee. Jyotirmoy Roy, *loc. cit.*
4. Cf. Lt. Col. Mc. Culloch, *An Account of the Valley of Munnipore and the hill Tribes, with a Comparative Vecabulary of the Mannipore and other languages*, 1859. The coins of Khagemba are said to have been round. It has also been suggested that Pakhangba (74-194 A. D.) was the first ruler of Manipur to issue a coinage of thin bell-metal pieces (S. K. Chatterjee, *op. cit*,p. 82)
5. *Indian Historical Records Commission, loc, cit.*
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. Jyotirmoy Roy, *loc. cit.* Recently, in course of my investigation. I have come across various types of Gharīb-Nawāz at some places in Manipur.
8. S. K. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
9. *Loc. cit.* This does not seam to be correct, as we have seen a large number of coins of Gharib Nwāz bearing regular legends in Manipur.

only the bell-metal coins of the early rulers of Manipur are discovered so far, coins of other metals like that of gold and silver were not possibly unknown to the people of this band. It is said that the king of Manipur surrendered and agreed to pay an annual tribute of twenty thousand silver coins, three hundred gold coins and ten elephants to Chilariai, the reputed general of the Koch king Naraṇārāyaṇa (c.1534-87) A. D.-[1]

It may also be pointed out that in accordance with a treaty concluded between Jayasiṁha and the East India Company in 1763 Jayasiṁha is said to have made 'an immediate offer of 500 Meklee gold rupees to be valued at twelve silver rupees each.'[2] and he also agreed to pay the same amount annually along with other articles.[3] Unfortunately we do not have any such gold coin of the time of Jayasiṁha. The archives of the Govt. of Manipur, however, contains one photo copy of a gold coin of Mahārāja Gambhīrasiṁha of 1043 Chandrābda.[4]

The death of Jayasiṁha (1799 A.D.) was followed by one of the most troublesome periods in the history of Manipur. In 1806 A.D. Chaurajitsiṁha, one of the sons of Jayasiṁha ascended the throne but in 1812 he was expelled by his brother Marjitsiṁha, who had secured Burmese assistance.[5] Henceforth Churajit, Mārajit and their borther, Gambhīrasiṁha began to play an increasingly important part in the history of Kachar.[6] Subsequently a quarrel broke out among them. Mārjitsiṁha and Gambhīrasiṁha divided the southern part of Kachar among themselves; and Chaurajitsiṁha took shelter in Sylhet. In May 1823 Chaurajitsiṁha requested the British Government to recognise him as the tributary ruler of

1. *Cf Gait's Koch Kings of Kāmarūpa* as mentioned in Babu Harendra Narayan Chowdhury's *An Account of Cooch Behar and its Land Revenue Steelements,* 1903. pp. 231-2 fn.

2. R. B. Pemberton, *op. cit.,* pp. 41-42. It is said that besides iron which is obtained mainly from the beds of small streams south of Thobal and the hills near Langatel, gold was supposed to exist in the stream on the north of the valley. Pemberton, however, notices that gold is annually obtained from all the streams which flow in to the Ningthee, and from the bed of the latter river.' (*op. cit.,* pp. 27-28)

3. Ibid., p. 42.

4. Recently, one similar gold coin has been discovered. See S. P. Basu, *JNSI.* XXVII, pp. 110-111.

5. Pemberton, *op. cit.,* pp. 44-45.

6. A. C. Banerjee, *Eastern Frontier of British India.* Calcutta, 1934, pp. 201 ff.

Kachar.[1] But the British Government paid no heed to his request and on the contrary, recognised Govindachandra, the former king as the ruler of Kachar.[2] The later career of Chaurajitsiṁha is not at all remarkable. In February, 1826 at the conclusion of the peace by the 'treaty of Yandaboo' Gambhīrasiṁha (Chinglen Nongdren—Khomba) was recognized as king (Rājā) of Manipur,[3] Gambhīrasiṁha died in 1834.[4] In 1835 a political Agent was appointed to act as a medium of communication between the State and the British Government.[5]

The present coin of Chaurajitsiṁha is one of the interesting coins of Manipur so far discovered; It must have been struck during the reign of Chaurajitsiṁha i. e. between 1806 and 1812 A.D. The photo copy of a silver coin of Chaurajitsiṁha lying in the archives of the Govt. of Manipur is dated Śaka 1734 i.e, 1812.[6] A. D. But whether the present coin was struck in the same year is difficult to say, as the portion containing the last digit of the Śaka year has been clippded possibly to conform to a particular weight standard. It may then be said that the practice of issuing coins in the year of accession of a ruler[7] does not seem to have influenced the rulers of Manipur.

The value and weight of this type of silver coin are almost equal to those of the British Indian rupee. But the inspiration of striking bigger square coins seems to have come from the square Āhom silver coins of Rājeśvara-siṁha (1751–69) who, however, adopted the square Mughal form and style with the legends in Persian.[8]

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1. *Ibid*.. p. 203.
2. Cf. *Secret Letters to the Court of Directors January* 9, *and February 23, 1824*; *and Secret Consultations, April 2, 1824*, No.7, A. C. Banerjee, *op. cit.* p. 206.
3. R. B, Pemberton, *op. cit.* pp. 47-48.
4. S. K. Chatterjee seems to have wrongy placed Gambhirasiṁha between 1826 and 1853 (*op. cit.* p. 84).
5. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XVII, p. 186.
6. The photo of this Coin has been collected by N. Khelchandra Singh of Manipur Secretariat from the Shillong Museum where there is one Silver coin of Chaurjit siṁha. According to literary tradition Chaurjit Siṁha ruled from 1803 to 1813 A. D. See *Chada-Lāihui, op. cit*, p. 111.
7. Rulers of a few royal houses of Eastern India like the Kochs, Āhom and others issued their coins generally in the year of their accession.
8. It appears from the *Tunkhungia Buranji* (ed. S, K. Bhayan), p. 55, that Kuraṅganayani, a daughter of Mahārāja Jayasiṁha of Manipur, was married to Rājeśvara Siṁha, the Āhom ruler Mahāraja Jayasiṁha was

The Manipuris not only accepted Chaitanya Vaishṇavism from Bengal in the middle of the 18th century but from that time they also adopted the Bengali script giving up their old and complicated alphabet.[1] But the legends of the Manipur coins discovered hitherto are generally written in the Devanāgarī script and the present coin also is no exception. It may, however, be pointed out that the recently found gold coin of Gambhīrasiṁha (1826-34) bears the legends in the Bengali script.

The British rupee with smaller silver coins was in circulation in Manipur in the 19th century, although the circulation of British Copper currency had to be stopped, as those remained unacceptable to the people of this land for a long time.[2]

P. K. Bhattacharyya

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the father of Chaurajit Siṁha, while Rājeśvara Siṁha was the son of the Āhom king Pramatta Siṁha (alias Sunəṅpha) who reigned from 1744 1751 A. D.

1. S. K. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 83

The written literary tradition of the country dates back to about 1500 A.D. The natives call it the *məytəy lon* (also spelled meitei). *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, No. 7, 1967, p. 12. S. K. Chatterjee (*op. cit.*, p.83) thinks that Meithei or Manipuri obtained an alphabet probably in the time of Kiyamba (*c.* 1500 A. D.) although a later date, 1700 A.D., has been suggested for it. It is an Indian alphabet which, though rather complicated, was modelled on Bengali alphabet. A knowledge of this alphabet was confined to tke *Maibas* or priests of the old religion of Manipur.

2. Jyotirmoy Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Cf. T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, Longey 1908.

A NOTE ON THE NAMES OF SMALLER DENOMINATIONS OF A RUPEE CURRENT IN MAHARASHTRA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

(1) During the first three quarters of the 17th century the following coins were very largely current in Maharashtra. (A) *Gold*: (1) Hona, (2) Pratāpa, (3) Dharaṇa, (4) Chavala (5) Duvala, (6) Bela or Byāla and (7) Vīsa. Numbers 2 to 7 were the smaller denominations of the first named Hona. Their relations to a Hona stood thus: 1 Hona=2 Pratāpas=4 Dharaṇas=8 Chavalas=16 Duvalas =32 Belas—64 Vīsas. Out of these I doubt whether Vīsa was a gold coin or not; but about the rest, I am quite sure that they were actually coins of gold. The Bhārata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Maṇḍala possesses a few specimens of the 6th gold coin, weighing 1 grain. It is evidently 1/32 part of a Hona.

(B) *Silver*: (1) Lari (of Dābhoḷ, Cheūl. Ormuz and Basara); (2) silver Hona (*Hona=1 Nuqra*);

(C) *Copper*: Sajgāṇī, Sāpikā, Tirujā, Ruja;

(D) *Takkā*: It is generally believed that it was a coin of account only; but we find refernces to a phrase '*Ṭāṅkasāḷī Ṭakkā*" which indicates that 'Ṭakkā' in some cases at least was actually a coin to be handled by hand and not merely a coin of account.

(2) Even though Ahmadnagar and some part of the Deccan surrounding it passed into the hands of the Mughals in the early part of the 17th century, the coins, Muhar and Rupee, and their smaller denominations did not, it seems, become current in that region; for in the accunt sheets of the early Mughal regime from the above region we always find Ruqās and Ṭakkās and in some cases Honas, but not Muhars, Rupees and their smaller denominations.

(3) These two coins no doubt became current in Maharashtra in the last quarter of the 17th century, especially during the Deccan campaign of Aurangzeb; but it is curious to note that the smaller denominations of a Rupee went by the names of the smaller denominations of a Hona.

(4) In support of this conjecture of mine, I would like to quote a very interesting and authentic record of this period, which I myself have published some 15 years ago *Śivacharitrasāhitya* Vol. XI (letter 78). It comes from one Fakīrjī Phaḍtare of a Deśamukh family of Khaṭava (Dist. Satara).

(5) This is a letter issued by Rāmachandra Nīlakaṇṭha Amātya, one of the two viceroys, appointed over Maharashtra by Rājārāma, the son of Shivaji, the Great, when he left for Jiñjī. It is addressed to Pirājī and Padājī Yādava, the Deśamukhas of blocks (tarf) Umbraja and Tārgaon (Dist. Satara) and is dated 12th Ramaḍān Shuhūr year 1095 (17-5-1695 A.D.). The two Deśamukhas were asked to remit a sum of Rs. 3,000/-in this year in lieu of the grant of Deshmukhī to them. Out of this amount they remitted Rs.1, 547/- out of which Rs. 947 went to the treasury without any complaint. Out of the remaining Rs.600/-, Rs.85/-, after examination by the Govt. assayer (Potdar) were found to be below standard. For these Rs.85/-, therefore, they had to suffer a cut of $\frac{1}{32}$ Re. per rupee. All this account has been shown in the following manner.

Rs. 600	requiring examination
Rs. 947	requiring examination
Rs.1, 547/-	

On Rs.85/-found below standard,a cut of $\frac{1}{32}$ Re. per rupee was made. The total amount of the cut has been recorded as 2 || = | . Substracting this from Rs. 1, 547/- we get Rs. 1544. This last amount has been recorded in words as Padharāse, savāchavatālīsa Rupaye, Duvala, byāla.

(6) Here the last vertical stroke stands for the coin byāla, the penultimate horizontal stroke for the coin Duvala and each initial vertical Strok stands for one–fourth of a rupee, without any name given to it. Its name would be Dharaṇa.

(7) It means that even though people in Maharashtra knew the coin rupee, its smaller denominations went by the names of the smaller denominations of a Hona.

G. H. Khare

A COPPER PAISA OF DUNGARPUR STATE

(PL. VII)

Founded by Samant Singh in the beginning of the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D., the Dungarpur state was situated on a part of the ancient Vāgaḍa region, in 23° 20′ to 24° 1′ North latitude and 73° 22′ to 74° 23′ East Longitude in southern Rajputana and comprised an area of 1460 square miles. The capital city was shifted from Baroda (ancient Vaṭapadraka) to Dungarpur when the latter was founded by its Chief, Mahārāwal Dungar singh in 1358 A.D.[1] During the reign of Akbar, it became a dependency of the Moghuls but was subjugated after Aurangzeb's death, by the Marathas. It was plundered by the Sindhias in 1812 A. D. and a state of anarchy followed. The state was restored to Rāwal Jaswant singh and independence was gained as a result of the treaty with the East India company in 1818 A. D., according to which the state accepted to pay 35,000 rupees as an annual tribute, which had formerly been paid to the Chief of Dhar, for the protection that was assured by the British. Jaswant Singh was, however, debarred from taking part in the administration of the state in 1825 A. D. by the Company because of his political and administrative inefficiency and a native agent was appointed to run the state administration. The Rāwal was forced to adopt Dalpat Singh, younger grandson of the Chief of Pratapgarh, Mahārāwal Savant Singh, and he looked after the affairs of the state till young Udai Singh, a scion of Jaswant Singh, again adopted to be the heir-apparent, attained his majority.[2] It was during the reign of Udai Singh (1852 98 A. D). that the state began minting its own copper coins which are very scarce now. A copper paisa of this state is being described here [3]

Metal	: AE
Shape	: Round, inadvertently cut
Thickness	: 3—4.8 milimeter
Size	: 19 × 20 mm.

1. G. H. Ojha, *The History of Rajputana*, Vol. III, Part *i*, Ajmer, V.S. 1998.
2. *Ibid*.
3. It belongs to Shri Bhanwar Lal Dugar of Raipur (M.P.).

Weight : 10.55 gm. (=162 gr.)

Obverse : Legend in Devanāgarī characters in two lines:

(i) सरकर *Sarak (ā) ra*

(ii) र पुर [*Dūṅga*] *rap* (*u*) *ra*[1]

Reverse : Date in Devanāgarī figures १९१४ (1914),[2] with a sword and a spray below it. (**Pl. VII. 2**)

The date is in Vikrama era and corresponds to the Christian era date of 1857 A. D., the year of the first Indian war of independence. Thus this is the earliest known coin of the state.

Devendra Handa

1. Ojha deciphers it as 'Girapura' (*op. cit.*, p. 13).
2. Ojha refers to the coins bearing the date 1917 V.E. The Date on the persent coin, though not very clear, is certainly not 1917. [The reading of the unit figure being uncertin, it is difficult to be sure about the exact date of the issue of this piece *A.M.S.*].

A TOKEN IN THE STYLE OF EAST INDIA COMPANY COINS

(Pl. VII)

C. H. Biddulph described two tokens of the East India Company style, *ante*, Vol. XXI, pp. 176–178. These were facsimiles of the Murshidabad sanh 19 milled-edge rupees. He proposed that "...they were originally intended for use as ornaments in jewellery and... in certain circumstances they were used as coins along with the local rupees of the period."[1]

As to his premise that the tokens were primarily struck to meet the demand of the ornament trade, the legend on the obverse of his coin No. 1 suggests this : "Jewel Merchant". It is also translateable as "Ornaments Merchant." تاجر زیورات

The new coin below is even more explicit in support of this reason for manufacture.

Description of Token.

Silver, circular, irregular oblique edge milling, diameter 27 mm. (1. 06"), weight 11. 49 gm. (176.7 gr).

Obverse :

زیور جمیل

سکہ

فتح دین رجسٹری

شدہ

ہندوستان

"Beautiful ornament coin. Fatah Din, Registered. Hindustan"

Reverse :

ضرب

ہوا مثل مرشداباد

"Struck resembling Murshidabad." (Pl. VII. 3)

The close stylistic resemblance of this coin to Aidduiph's coin NO. 1 is remarkable; it extends even to the incidental dssplacement of the reverse die to the 7 : 30 position on the flan. A common place of manufacture for these coins is not unlikely.

1. *JNSI*, XXI, p. 178

That the tokens were intended ultimately to pass as current coins can be assumed from the weight and fabric. Careful workmanship of the die-cutter is such that an illiterate person would probably be unable to differentiate the tokens from Company issues on surface appearance alone. The token described above, for example, was discovered in a large accumulation of E. I. C. rupees in a Delhi bullion house, which may suggest that it had been in circulation in association with these contemporary coins. The coin betrays no sign of having been mounted as jewellery, but is in a mildly worn condition. This is, however, slender evidence of the coin's history.

Biddulph quotes Upendra Thakur's previous article on 'The Currency of Tirhut during the Early Years of the Company Rule"[1] to support the thesis that such private tokens passed in circulation. It is to be hoped that a more specific reference may be found in order to clarify the status of these interesting pieces.

J. S. Deyell

1. *JNSI*, XX, pp. 205-213

REVIEWS

1

Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations: Edited by Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Published by Nagpur University, 1972, Pp. XXIV+142, Plates 2, Price Rs. 40/-.

The book under review contains papers submitted for the seminars on the topics, viz.i) The Coinage of the Sātavāhanas, and ii) Coins from Excavations, which were held at Nagpur on 11th and 12th Nov. 1971, respectively, by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the University of Nagpur.

I

The first section of the monograph contains eight papers submitted on different aspects of the Sātavāhana coinage. The first paper contributed by Nisar Ahmad deals with the attribution and typology of the Sātavāhana coins. He has also tried to take up such coins whose attributions are vague and uncertain. His attributions of such controversial Sātavāhana coins are, however, also tentative. There is, however, no basis to connect the only known type of Āpīlaka (or Sāpīlaka) with later repoussé gold coins of South Kosala. The blank reverse of this coin does not make it a repoussé coin. The manufacturing technique of the Sātavāhana coins is different from that of repoussé coins of South Kosala.

The latter part of this paper contains a list of Sātavāhana coin-types. The author has also tried to determine the characteristic features and associated symbols of the coins of the individual kings of the dynasty.

The next paper is contributed by K. D. Bajpai. He has published some (6) new Sātavāhana coins in this paper. One of these coins struck by punching technique is really very significant. But perhaps it is too much to say that 'eastern Malwa was occupied by the Sātavāhanas in the middle of the 2nd century B.C.' merely on the basis of the discovery of this coin from Vidiśā.

He identifies the issuer of this coin with Sātakarṇi I. the third king of the Purāṇic lists and places him in the middle of the second century B. C. on the basis of the palaeography of the coin-legend. It is widely recognised that palaeography is a very uncertain evidence for purposes of definitive dating. Sātakarṇi I in all probability cannot be placed before the later half of the first century B. C. or the beginning of the first century A. D.

Shobhana Gokhale has attempted a religious and social study on the basis of the Sātavāhana coins in the next paper. She has, however, not discussed the religious aspects of the Sātavāhana kingship on the basis of coins. She has only listed the symbols and figures found on coins under suitable heads and has not cared to dilate upon their religious significance in the context of the religion of the Sātavāhanas. The sun-symbol, as it appears on Sātavāhana coins may indicate the popularity of the sun-cult, during their rule. But the crescent found in association with the hill and Ujjain symbols defies any religious interpretation. Symbols may have been used by kings on account of their popularity but the idea that they were to convey to the people either as individual symbols or as groups thereof is perhaps more important, both from the historical and the numismatic view points.

Among the figures that occur on Sātavāhana coins besides human figures are those of Bull, Elephant, Horse, Lion, Snake, Tree etc It may not perhaps be possible to determine the exact religious nature of some of these figures and whether or not they were put on the coins to convey the same religious idea. Both elephant and horse are important symbols of the sovereign authority of Indian kingship. Is it not possible, therefore, that they were placed on coins by the Sātavāhana kings to reflect the idea of their sovereignty ? It is also possible that the depiction of the horse might be intended to convey the performance of the horse sacrifice. Some inscriptions bear testimony to the performance of Vedic sacrifices by kings of the dynasty.

Human figures on the Sātavāhana coins are rare. The female figure may rightly be identified as that of Lakshmī. But the male figure of the Homo-type coins may or may not bea

deity. It is equally difficult to say that the figure is that of the king.

Writing about the social aspects as known from Sātavāhana coins Gokhle states that the depiction of a single and a double mast ship on some coins shows 'that a certain class was engaged in maritime trade and commerce on the eastern coast' (p. 38). The suggestion is taken from Rapson's *BMC, AWK* (p. LXXXII) without any reference to him. But the point is whether a king could have taken the trouble to depict a ship on his coins merely because a section of his subjects was engaged in maritime trade. It seems, that this engagement of the maritime traders was not worthy of depiction by a king. But the things would be different if we assume that the Sātavāhanas were themselves engaged in this trade which is not quite unlikely. It is quite possible, therefore, to assume that some kings of the dynasty may have maintained a naval force to guard their coastline. It has also been suggested that the depiction of the ship is probably indicative of a naval victory, and the coins may have been struck with this depiction to commemorate this victory.[1]

The next paper is contributed by P. L. Gupta, and it deals with the regional distribution of the coin-types. He has also mentioned some coins from Vidiśā region, that are manufactured by the technique of punching. He has also referred to the coin published by Bajpai earlier in the monograph. Gupta's suggestion that these inscribed punch-marked coins of the Sātavāhanas are a continuation of the square punch-marked coins of Eraṇ-Vidiśā region seems to be correct. But the attribution of the latter coins, i. e. the square copper punch-marked coins of Eraṇ-Vidiśā, to the later Śuṅgas and Kaṇvas seems doubtful. At one place he attributes these uninscribed square copper punch-

1. P. C. Chakravarti says that "the naval traditions thus created by the Mauryas did not die with them. Certain pieces of Āndhra or Sātavāhana coins, belonging to the reign of Puḷumayi, bear the figure of a two-masted sailing ship. It is not fanciful to assume that these coins, found mostly in Toṇḍaimaṇḍala. were issued by Puḷumayi to commemorate a naval victory, which he won over the people of that region," *The Art of War in Ancient India*, Dacca, 1941, p. 59. [It is now known that the ship type coins belong not to Puḷumayi, but to Yajña Satakarni. A. M. S.]

marked coins to the Śuṅga and Kaṇva rulers and then in the last sentence of the paragraph says that "the coins of Simuka,... might be the anonymous copper punch-marked coins of Eraṇ-Vidiśā." Writing about the Elephant type (Group A) coins of North Maharashtra he claims to have recognised twelve varieties (p. 43), but only eleven varietes are subsequently listed. Then again writing about the same elephant type (Group B) of Deccan he states to have distinguished ten varieties (on p. 46) but has listed eleven varieties instead.

Gupta's reference to the silver coins (portrait type) of the Sātavāhanas as belonging to Tamildeśa is totally incorrect. This supposition is obviously based on the guess that the legend on the reverse of some of these coins is written in the Tamil language. All other Sātavāhana coins are inscribed only on one of their sides in the Brāhmī script and Prākṛit language. On the contrary these silver coins of the dynasty are inscribed on both of their faces. Whereas it is commonly held that the obverse legend is in Brāhmī script and Prākṛit language, it was earlier held that the reverse legend is in a form of Southern Brāhmī and Drāviḍī Prākṛit. It was later suggested by D. C. Sircar that the reverse legend is in old Telugu language. Thereafter R. Nagaswamy and, following him, S. Ramayya came to the conclusion that the reverse legend is in Tamil language. P. L. Gupta also subscribes to this view.

The Sātavāhanas perhaps were not Tamilians; therefore the existence of a Tamil inscription on their coins required an explanation. And attemots were made by these scholars to twist historical facts to support this hypothesis. There is no positive evidence to connect the Sātavāhanas with Tamilanadu actively, and the provenance of these silver coins runs contrary to the theory that they were issued for circulation in that region. Therefore, the suggestion that the reverse legends of these coins are in Tamil language does not carry conviction. It is perhaps more appropriate to view these coins in the proper context of Sātavāhana history and coinage. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi initiated the silver currency of the dynasty by restriking thousa-nds of silver coins of his Śaka adversary Nahapāṇa. These coins were put into circulation apparently in the areas that he had

captured from Nahapāṇa[1]. Later, however, Gautamīputra also initiated the independent silver coinge of the dynasty. But unfortunately we have only a sfngle specimen of this independent silver money of Gautamīputra, and the attribution of this piece is somewhat controversial[2]. The later, so called bi-lingual silver coins of the subsequent Sātavāhana kings cannot be isolated from the two earlier silver types. Therefore, these coins are initiated and inspired by the western Kahatrapa silver and not by the 'Roman denarius'. The rather prolonged politico-military association of the Sātavāhanas with the Western Kshatrapas, and the provenance of these coins renders a Tamil inscription out of place on them.

Gupta (p. 58) states that all other "coin-types of the Sātavāhanas are uni-lingual and bear uniformly Prākṛit legends. If these coins were meant for the same region, where other coin-types were current, the Prākṛit legend on these coins would have served the purpose well". Therefore he thinks that these coins were issued for a region 'where the Prakṛit was not known or at least was not popular'. He thus presumes that the same language cannot be used for writing inscriptions on both the faces of a coin. But then we have the coins of the Audumbaras, the Vemakis, the Kuṇindas, the Trigartas[3] etc. which contain inscriptions in Prākṛit in both Brāhmī and Kharoshthī scripts on their two sides. It will be wrong to say that Brāhmī was not known or was not popular in their kingdom. Even Indo-Greek kings like Agathocles and Pantaleon issued at least some coins with Brāhmi legends on them. It seems reasonable to believe that the Indo-Greek bi-lingual and bi-scriptual coins were accepted as a sort of model by Indian tribes and kings, who struck bi-scriptual coins with two inscriptions in the same language in imitation of these Indo-Greek coins. This bi-lingual tradition of the Indo-Greeks was continued by their Śaka-Pahlava successors in the north and by the Śaka-Kshatrapas in Western India. The

1. Rapson (*BMC, AWK*, p. LXXXIX) that these restruck coins 'circulated no doubt it the Nasik Dist., which had been recently won......'
2. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Early Indigenous Indian Coins*, (ed. D. C. Sircar), pp. 113 ff.
3. *BMC, AI*, pp. LXXXIII ff ,122 ff.;LXXXV-VI,125, ciff, 159 ff., CXXXIX, XL, 212 no. 19.

30 . 4 . 198

Greek legends on the coins of the early Śakas of western India tend to be corrupt, but the impression is that they were intended to pass on as bi-lingual coins. It was this bi-lingual nature of the early Śaka Silver that inspired the bi-lingual nature of the Sātavāhana Silver. Thus the bi-lingual nature of the Sātavāhana Silver was not determined by any linguistic necessity as Gupta seems to suggest.

It is commonly accepted that coinage in ancient India was local in character, and the Sātavāhana coinage provides a good example of this nature of Indian money. It is believed that local conventions and traditions have gone a long way to determine the coinage of a particular region. There is no tradition of a bilingual money in early Tamilnadu. Hence the Sātavāhana Silver was issued to circulate only in those parts of their Kingdom that had become used to Kshatrapa silver currency under the Śaka rule. These territories frequently changed hands between the Śakas and the Sātavāhanas. The Sātavahana kings, whenever they captured any parts of the Śaka domain, issued silver coins for circulation in imitation of the Śaka money from the time of Gautamīputra to the reign of Yajña Sātakarṇi.

In the following paper A. N. Lahiri has discussed contacts and influences as revealed by the Sātavāhana coins. He thinks that the kings of the dynasty 'chose lead for their coins' perhaps because 'they found it convenient' and that 'it had a greater intrinsic value in those days and was available in plenty'. It is possible to argue that the intrinsic value of lead may not have been higher than that of other metals The Sātavāhanas were politically powerful with a fairly large kingdom at their command. They could well have maintained a regular imperial currency of a costlier metal under the normal circumstances. But their frequent wars with the Kshatrapas and other powers adversely affected their economy and they could not therefore go far a precious metal currency. The easy availability of lead by import and numismatic conservatism are secondary reasons. The pre-Sātavāhana coinages of several of their coin-yielding localities are not known. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the particular numismatic nature of such regions, and hence numismatic conservatism may not be taken as a very valid reason for the

failure of the Sātavāhanas to circulte a regular currency in a costlier metal.

The next paper deals with bi-lingual silver coins of the Sātavāhanas and is contributed by P. R. K. Prasad. The author has taken great pains to suggest that the reverse inscription of these coins is in the Telugu language. This hypothesis rests on the Andhra origin of the dynasty. But no Telugu records datable to a period earlier than 5th century A. D. are found. This difficulty renders the Telugu nature of the coin-inscriptions concerned somewhat doubtful. But the close association of the kings of the dynasty with the Andhra region, and the literary notices associating this line of kings with the same region[1] perhaps cannot be overlooked in this connection. It appears, therefore, more reasonable to held that if at all a modern South Indian language is to be looked for in these reverse-inscriptions it can only be Telugu, and not Tamil. The non-availability of Telugu records earlier than 5th century A. D. can in no way conclusively disprove the Telugu nature of these inscriptions.

Thereafter, I. Karthikeya Sarma surveys the regional distribution, sequence, chronology and historical significance of the Sātavāhana coinage. The author has given a list of the coin-types and two charts that add to the value of his paper. Discussing the chronology of the Sātavāhanas he has suggested that the Sātavāhanas rose to power in C. 240 B. C. His main reliance for this date of the initial year of the Sātavāhana rule is based on 'the stratigraphical evidence of the coins' from sites like Nevasa, Nasik, Paithan, Kauṇḍinyapura, Tripurī and Pauni. But this date for the advent of the Sātavāhanas under Simuka is incorrect. Firstly, because the Purānas state that Simuka extermінted not only the Kāṇvas but whatever was left of the Śuṅgas as well. The Śuṅga dynasty was established around 184 B. C., and the Kāṇvas followed them more than a century afterwards. Secondly, the stratigraphic evidence perhaps cannot lead to a definite and precise date. Sarma's dating of the Sātavāhanas is based largely on the period IV of Nevasa excavations which, he says, is in no case datable to a period 'later than the beginning of the 2nd century B. C'. The date of this period of the Nevasa excavations

1. The *Purānas* call them as Āndhras.

is discussed at length in the following paper by Ajay Mitra Shastri, who has rightly concluded that the period IV of Nevasa 'may be placed between late first century B. C. or early first century A. D. to 'early second century A. D'. Thirdly, the practice of issuing inscribed coins - bearing the name and titles of the king was popularised by the Indo-Greeks in India. The Sātavāhanas learnt this practice, in all probability, from the Śakas of Western India, who were their neighbours. The early Sātavāhana coins thus cannot perhaps be placed earlier than the Indo-Greeks whom the Śakas followed in North-West and Punjab. The Śakas came to occupy Western India still later.

Ajay Mitra Shastri in his well written paper critically discusses all relevant material with regard to the initial year of the Sātavāhana rule. It is reasonable enough to hold with him that the establishment of the Sātavāhana authority was effected 'somewhere about the middle of the first century B. C.'

The reasons for the adoption of lead for issuing coins by the Sātavāhanas is not known. This problem may have been discussed in a separate paper on Sātavāhana economy. The suggestion of Shastri that since lead was first used to issue coins by Strato II, the lead coins of early Sātavāhanas can only be later than the said Indo-Greek king (first century B. C.) is doubtful as there is no evidence of a direct contact between the later Indo-Greek Kings and the early Sātavāhanas. But this is not likely to affect the validity of his view about the initial year of the Sātavāhana rule.

There are several discrepancies, as is quite likely in a work of this type, in the statements of some of the contributors on points of a similar nature discussed by them. The editor has drawn the attention of the reader to such controversies in his brief editorial footnotes. He has similarly corrected some mistakes too.

The general scheme of the seminar as reflected by the papers published shows that some important aspects like economy, metrology and palaeography are almost totally left out. The coinages of the Kuras and the Ānandas may also have been discussed in a separate paper.

II

The second section of the book contains four papers read at the seminar on the topic 'Coins from Excavations.' The first paper is by Bela Lahiri on Tribal and Local coins from excavations. The next paper is by M. D. N. Sahi on the bearing of excavations on the early history of the Audumbaras. His observations are based mainly on the evidence of Rupar excavations. His suggestion that the Audumbaras later 'changed into a monarchical form of government' is untenable. This observation is based on the fact that the coins of the so-called Audumbara-Mitras do not contain the name of their tribe. These Mitra rulers, therefore, must have followed a monarchical administration. But their exact relationship with the chiefs of the Audumbara tribe, whom they seem to have followed, is anything but proved. Hence it is extremely difficult to hold, on the basis of the coins of the Mitra kings, that the Audumbaras later adopted a monarchical constitution. Sahi has failed to use some important material on the history and coinage of the Audumbaras published in the *JNSI* and elsewhere.

The third paper in this section deals with the Sātavāhana coins from excavations by P. L. Gupta. He has not only discussed the coins from various excavations but in some cases has also doubted the dating of particular periods of certain excavations. The last paper of this section is by K. D. Bajpai on Gupta coins from excavations. He has mostly discussed the coins of the controversial Rāmagupta in this paper.

This section of the seminar has several gaps in terms of numismatic history of ancient India with reference to coins from excavations. But the usefulness of the papers is beyond doubt.

III

The history of the Sātavāhanas has not received adequate attention of scholars as compared to certain other dynasties of ancient India. This does not, however, reflect in any way on the importance of the Sātavāhanas. They were the earliest imperial ruling line of the Deccan and exercised authority over an extensive territory. The first attempt at a systematic study of

the Sātavāhana coinage was made by E. J. Rapson in his *BMC, AWK*, which was published as far back as 1908. Although there is a considerable difference in the nature of the *BMC, AWK* and *The Coinage of the Sātavāhanas* yet the latter work seems to be almost equally important. The monograph is likely to serve as an important reference work for all those interested in the study of the history of the Sātavāhanas. The contributors have utilised all available material to make their papers authentic and up-to-date.

Dr. Shastri deserves our congratulations not only for having brought out the monograph promptly, but also for printing and editing the monograph nicely. There are very few printing mistakes such as coaste for coast on p. 57.

The monograph is a must for all the students of Sātavāhana history and numismatics.

Jai Prakash Singh

The Kushāṇas and the Deccan, Part I : Kanishka I and and the Deccan (A Study In the Problem of Relationship), by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, Pp. VI+163, with a map. Published by Pilgrim Publishers, 18B/1B, Tamer Lane, Calcutta-9. Price Rs.

The present booklet is divided into four chapters and three appendices. Chapter I defines the limits of the Deccan by way of an introduction on the basis of literary and epigraphic sources. Deccan in the opinion of the author "included Southern Gujarat, Maharashtra, parts or whole of Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, parts of southern M. P. and portions of inland as well as coastal Orissa".

The first part of Chapter II gives the theory of S. Levi advocating the inclusion of a large area of the Deccan in the kingdom of Kanishka I. The theory of S. Levi was partly supported by Ghirshman and vigorously held by A. Banerji-Sastri. The views of these two scholars are also briefly mentioned.

The second part of the chapter is devoted to a critical examination of the arguments put forward by scholars in support of the inclusion of parts of the Deccan in the kingdom of Kanishka I or one of his predecessors. The author concludes in the third part of the chapter that "the upshot of the whole discussion is that Lévi's arguments about Kanishka (I)'s authority over the Deccan, especially North-Western Deccan, do not bear scrutiny. The same may be said about the additional arguments put forward by A. Banerji-Sastri".

The Kanishka-Sātavāhana legends are discussed in Chapter III. One of these legends is mentioned in a Chinese work entitled *Yu yang tsa tsu,* composed in c. A. D. 860 by Tuan Ch'eng Che. This legend, though cited by S. Lévi, was not used by him to substantiate his theory of Kanishka's hold over the Deccan. Mukherjee has, however, tried to suggest that the legend may have reached China through Wang Hsüan-tz'u who visited India on several occasions in the middle of the seventh century A. D. He has also referred to another similar story from

the well-known Persian work *Majmmalu-t- Tawārīkh* and has attempted to identify the two principal characters in the two versions of the story. A third version of the story is referred to by Al-Bīruni. The author suggests that the Chinese version of the story about the rivalry between Kanishka and a Sātavāhana King seems to be the original or the closest to the original. The Sātavāhana King of the Legend, a contemporary of Kanishka I. was either Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi or his son Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi or both. Thereafter, the author attempts to determine the possible areas of contact between Kanishka I and his Sātavāhana contemporary in a very logical and convincing manner. He concludes the chapter saying that 'the existence of the possible areas of contact' seems to suggest 'a definite historical core' but as these areas 'lay outside the Deccan, the legends never prove the advent of the Kushāṇa power in the Deccan in the time of Kanishka I.''

In Chapter IV the author has discussed certain chronological data for a proper understanding of Kanishka's relationship with the Deccan. This discussion shows that there is no evidence to confirm the hold of Kanishka I or any of his Kushāṇa predecessors over the Deccan. The author has, however, suggested that Ākara or Eastern Malwa was conquered during Kanishka's reign and this may show the start of Kushāṇa activity in the neighbourhood of the Deccan under Kanishka.

Then there are three short appendices in the book two of which are on the date of the *Periplus* and the *Geographike* of Ptolemy respectively; an index and a map, all of which add to the value of the book.

There are many printing mistakes most of which are listed in the corrigenda.

The approach of the author is objective, critical and precise. His presentation is elegant. The book betrays the author's depth of scholarship in ample measure. It is a must for all those interested in Kanishka's relationship with the Deccan.

Jai Prakash Singh

3

Coins from Chandraketugarh : Written and published by Gourishankar De, South Habra, P. O. Habra, 24-Parganas, West Bengal, pp, 28 and two illustrations, price Rs. 3.00, 5s.

In this booklet, whose text covers only 20 pages of Demy size, the coins, with their significance, found from Chandraketugarh and its neighbourhood are delt with. The temptation of contributing this short monograph is based on the collection of two gold coins, one of the Guptas and the other of the Kushāṇas, by the author from Simher Ati and Dewan Ati, respectively, "the two obscure villages lying in the suburbs of the ancient city of Chandraketugrh."

Mr. De enumerates the coins obtained from Chandraketugarh and its suburbs which belong to the punch-marked, the Gupta and the Kushāṇa series but in the absence of their detailed typological descriptions, this treatise cannot be considered as a scientific work on the subject. As regards the suggested date of the punch-marked coins from 4th century to 2nd century B. C. (p. 12) no evidence is cited.

The Kushāṇa coin belonging to Huvishka, is illustrated on the title-cover. It is identified by Sakti Prasad Basu, Curator of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. This piece has bust facing to left and the circular legend PAONANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO on tbe obverse, and the deity standing facing right, legend NANA on left and symbol on right on the reverse. Its weight is 120 grains. But we don't agree that this "coin was originally a Roman coin re-struck in India" (p. 27).

The Gupta coin belongs to the Archer type. It has the standing figure of the king, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand. Its reverse bears Lakshmī sitting on lotus, facing, holding noose in her right hand, and lotus in left hand, and the symbol on the right, above the noose. This type was very common amongst all the Gupta types; but the statement of Mr. De that "it was issued by all the rulers of the dynasty is not correct." The coin in question is taken as that of Samudragupta

because, in his opinion, "the name 'Samudra' is vertically written under the arm," but this legend should correctly be read as Chandra and not Samudra, although the illustration is not good. Hence, beyond any doubt, this specimen is minted by Chandragupta II. We also do not find the legend Parakramaḥ above the head of the goddess on the reverse, as De thinks. The reverse legend certainly occurs vertically on the right of the figure of goddess. It is highly surprising that Dr. S. K. Maity, the teacher of the author, who wrote the foreward of this book, failed to decipher the name of the issuer on this Gupta coin correctly.

This booklet, like many other Indian publications, has numerous printing mistakes, some of them may be counted here as 'Anceinf,' for Ancient (p. 10 fn. 2) 'insribed' for inscribed (p. 11), 'Chantaketugarh' for Chandraketugarh (p. 19) and 'Hubishka' for Huvishka. A few grammatical mistakes also occur therein, viz. "the elephant motif on some Chandraketugarh coins seem significant" (p. 13). Rarely names are also not spelt correctly, i. e. "Lichhavi" for Lichchhavi (p. 15). Accented marks, too, have not been used. Lastly, we can mention that names are printed differensly at places, for example, Chandragupta I and Chandra-gupta I.

However, we appreciate the attempt of Mr. De to bring to light the two gold coins which were collected by him from the suburbs of Chandraketugarh, lying in Southern Bengal.

Nisar Ahmad

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India

Volume XXXIII (1971) Part II

Coinage of Yoganarendra Malla of Pātan

B. N. Shrestha

Errata			Corrige
Page	line		
96	12	Mārgaśīrsha	Mārgaśira
101	29	La kshi mī	La kshi mi
102	3	Joga Lakshmī Mahādevī	Joga Lakshimi Mahā-devi
102	13	Yoga Lakshmī Devī	Yoga Lakshmī Devī
103	4	vi	vī
106	16-17	Śrī 2 Lokaprakāśa Malla Deva	Śrī 2 Jaya Loka-prakāśa Malla Deva
107	12	Lokaprakāśa	Lokaprakāsa
107	25	Shape : Bound	Shape : Round
112	3	111 and X	101 and X
113	25	10/452, Mahabandha	10/452 Mahabauddah

Coin No.		
11	( )	(Pi. I. 10)
12	(Pl. I. 10)	(Pl. II. 7)
13	(Pl. II. 1)	(Pl. II. 8)
14	(Pl. II. 2)	(Pl. II. 9)
15	(Pl. II. 3)	(Pl.II. 10)
16	(Pl. II. 4)	(Pl.II. 11)
17	(Pl. II. 5)	(Pl.II. 12)
18	(Pl. II. 6)	(Pl. II. 1)
19	(Pl. II. 7)	(Pl. II. 2)
20	(Pl. II. 8)	(Pl. II. 3)
21	(Pl. II. 9)	(Pl. II. 4)
22	(Pl. II. 10)	(Pl. II. 5)
233	(Pl. II. 11)	(Pl. II. 6)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 61st ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Inaugural Meeting

The 61st Annual Conference and the Diamond Jubilee of the Numismatic Society of India were held at Varanasi, the headquarters of the Society, on October 12–14, 1973. The registration of the delegates started at 8.30 A.M. on 12th October and the proceedings of the Conference began at 11.00 A.M , the same day, in the Auditorium of the Faculty of Arts, Banaras Hindu University.

Dr. A.K. Narain, the President of the Diamond Jubilee Session, presided.

Dr. K.L. Shrimali, the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University and the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Diamond Jubilee of the Society welcoming the delegates requested Prof. R.C. Majumder to inaugurate the conference. Thereafter Prof. Majumdar addressed the delegates (Appendex A).

Then Dr. B.N. Mukherjee, the Vice–Chairman of the Society, introduced Dr. A.K. Narain, the President of the Diamond Jubilee Session, and requested him to deliver his address. Dr. A.K. Narain then delivered the Presidential address (Appendix B).

Then the following Awards and Medals were presented at the hands of prof. R.C. Majumdar—

I. *Fellowship Plaques* were awarded to the following :

1. Shri C. R. Singhal, in absentia
2. Dr. D. C. Sircar,
3. Dr. P. L. Gupta,
4. Dr. R. Göbl (in absentia)

II. *Akbar Medal* was awarded to—

1. Shri C. R. Singhal, (in absentia)
2. Dr. D.C. Sircar.

III. *Nelson Wright Medal* was awarded to—

1. Dr. D. W. Mac Dowall (in absentia)
2. Prof. K. D. Bajpai.

IV. *C. H. Biddulph Medal* was awarded to—

1. Major Fred Pridmore (in absentia)

After the presentation of the awards Dr. Lallanji Gopal, the Local Secretary, thanked Prof. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University, and the delegates on his own behalf and on that of the Society. The inaugural session ended with the National Anthem.

Academic Meetings

After the lunch, the delegates re-assembled in the Hall of the Altekar Smarak Bhavan of the Society, at 2. 30 p. m., for the reading and the discussion of papers under the Presidentship of Prof. A. K. Narain. Paper reading was resumed in the morning session from 9 a. m. to 1 p. m. on the following day, i. e. 13th October, 1973.

The following papers were read and discussed in these two sessions :—

1. K. D. Bajpai : Yaudheya Coins: A Critical Study
2. K. K. Thaplyal : An Interesting Motto Seal.
3. Ajay Mitra Shastri : A New Hoard of Magha Coins.
4. V. Choudhury & Parimal Ray : Hitherto Unknown Lion Type Coins of Nasiru-d-din Muhammad Shah I of Bengal.
5. S. K. Bhatt : Mint Records of Malharnagar.
6. S. K. Bhatt : A Silver Double Tanka of Baz Bahadur.
7. P. K. Bhattacharyya : A Silver Coin of Manipur.
8. D. C. Sircar : Coins in the Inscriptions of Palas and Senas of Eastern India.
9. B. N. Mukherjee : The Historical Significance of a Gold Coin of Vāsudeva.
10. Nisar Ahmad : Mahādeva-A King of North-Eastern Punjab
11. Sita Ram Roy : Chronology of the Cast Coins at Vaiśālī.
12. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay : The Classical Authors on Indian Coins and Currency.
13. N. Sankaranarayana : Some Recent Addition to the Coin Cabinets of the Madras Government Museum.
14. K. K. Das Gupta : A Note on Three Rare Tribal Coins in the Lingen Collection.
15. G. H. Khare : A Note on the Names of Smaller Denominations of a Ruppe in Maharashtra in the 17th Century.
16. K. K. Misra : Some Kushāṇa Coins of the C. D. Museum, Darbhanga.
17. D. B. Pandey : Mudrā-Lipi.
18. Vinita Varma : Coins of the Magha Dynasty.
19. S. P. Bose : Two Bare Coins of the Indo-Greek Kings in the Recent Collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

20. Ram Govinda Prasad : Gold Punch-Marked Coin (in Hindi)

Seminar

After the Lunch at 2. 30 p. m. on the 13th October, 1973, the delegates re-assembled in the Altekar Smarak Bhavan of the Society for a seminar on 'Art in Early Indian Coins' which was conducted by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee. The reading of and discussions on seminar papers, some of which were illustrated with slides, continued in the morning session on the next day, i.e. 14th October, 1973.

The following papers were presented at the seminar :

1. P. L. Gupta : Art in the Punch-Marked Coins.
2. B. N. Mukherjee : Art in the Coins of the Non-Indian Rulers of the North Western Part of the Indian Sub-Continent (up to the period of the Kushāṇas).
3. K. K. Das Gupta : Art in the Local and Tribal Coins of Ancient India.
4. L. K. Tripathi : Artistic Appreciation of Imperial Gupta Coins.
5. D. B. Pandey : Observations on Art in the Early Mediaeval Coins of Northern India (6th-12th cent. A.D.)
6. S. Bandyopadhyay : Art in post-Kushāṇa Foreign Coinage.

Elections

During lunch hour on the 14th October, 1974, elections to various offices and the Executive Council were held under the supervision of Shri A. H. Sanghvi, Bar-at-Law, Bombay, who worked as the Presiding Officer. The following office-bearers were elected :

1. Chairman	Prof. K. D. Bajpai	Sagar
2. Vice-Chairman	Shri R. C. Agrawala	Jaipur
3. General Secretary	Dr. B. N- Mukherjee	Calcutta
4. Treasurer	Dr. Lallanji Gopal	Varanasi
5. Members	Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri	Nagpur
6. ,,	Shri J. P. Singh	Varanasi
7. ,,	Dr. K. K. Sinha	,,
8. ,,	Dr T. P. Verma	,,
9. ,,	Dr. S K. Bhatt	Indore
10. ,,	Shri R. S. Mishra	Jaipur
11. ,,	Dr. K. K. Das Gupta	Calcutta
12. ,,	Dr. P. K. Jayaswal	Patna

Business Meeting

The Business Meeting took place at 2 p. m. on October 14, 1673. It was presided over by Prof. A. K. Narain.

At the outset Dr. P.L. Gupta, Secretary, presented his annual report (Appendix C), which was adopted unanimously.

The Treasurer, Dr. L. K. Tripathi, then presented the audited accounts for the year 1972–73 and the budget estimates for the year 1973–74. They are published elsewhere in this volume.

The General Body was next informed of some important resolutions adopted by the outgoing Executive Council during the year 1972–73.

Thereafter the General Body passed the following resolutions:

1. Resolved thet the Indian Council of Historical Research be thanked for sanctioning a grant of Rs 6,000 (Rupees Six Thousand only) to meet the deficit in the publication of the Journal.

2. Resolved that the Indian Council of Historical Research be requested to make this grant recurring without attaching any conditions to it.

3. Resolved that Shri G. H. Khare be elected President of the next session.

4. Resolved that the draft constitution prepared by the Committee appointed for this purpose be reconsidered and revised, if necessary, by it keeping in view the existing constitution and all the past resolutions of a constitutional nature passed by the General Body from time to time, and the same be circulated amongst the members of the Society, well in advance, for their opinion, and then the Committee should prepare the final draft of the constitution in the light of the opinions of the members. It was also resolved that Shri A. H. Sanghvi, Bar-at-Law, Bombay, should also be included in the Committee as a legal expert.

5. Resolved that all the resolutions affecting the privileges of the members substantially should be communicated to them.

6. Resolved that members from Bangladesh be treated at par with Indian members till further notice.

7. Resolved that the Sub-Committee appointed for cansidering the pay-scales, etc., should submit its report by January, 1974.

8. Resolved that the railway concession forms be sent to all members who are not in arrears of subscription well before each annual conference.

The newly elected Executive Council held its first meeting at 4. 30 p. m. on 14.10. 1974 in the Altekar Smarak Bhavan of the Society. It considered urgent business and gave directives regarding the dav-to-day functioning of the Society. It elected the following office-bearers :

1. Chief Editor	: Dr. A. K. Narain
2. Editor	: Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri
3. ,,	: Shri Jai Prakash Singh
4. Assistant Secretary	: Dr. Nisar Ahmad.

APPENDIX A
INAUGURAL ADDRESS

R. C. Majumdar

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Narain, Members of the Numismatic Society, Ladies and gentlemen.

I feel highly honoured by the invitation to inaugurate the Diamond Jubilee Session of the Numismatic Society of India. In our country where infant morta. lity is very high, both in regard to men and institutions, the Diamond Jubilee of the Numismatic Society which is least likely to engage the attention of the general public, far less to attract popular sympathy, must be regarded as a notable event. Today our first thoughts must turn to those to whom the credit is due for creadting the institution and the occassion for the jubilation with which we welcome this event. This calls to my mind a fact of great importance which we are apt to forget or deliberately ignore today. The history of this institution serwes as a memorable illustration of the deep debt of gratitude which we owe to the much maligned British people for what they have done to revive the glorious history of our past which is one of the most powerful factors contributing to the growth and development of nationalism and patriotism, the only sure foundation of the greatness of a country and its people. When we remember the very poor knowledge we possessed of the ancient history of our country and the incredible lack of historical mentality of its people the very end of the 18th century and even beyond it, we may form a proper estimate of the progress we have made in this respect during the last one hundred years and the extent to which we are indebted for this to the English education which has now fallen on evil days and evil tongues. I make bold to assert that our recent experience shows that the need for that education is still as great as ever, at least in the matter of historical studies, and the neglect of that education has arrested the growth of our progress in historical studies and research.

It is generally admitted that next to Epigraphy, Numismatics has been the most important source of the knowledge of Indian history of the ancient period, and is a very valuable supplement to the literary sources so far as the Medieval Age is concerned Yet, even at the beginning of this century, the Indians hardly realized its importance and paid no attention to it. It is a small body of English men who initiated the study of both Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics. As is well known to you, it was only in December, 1910, that this Numismatic Society was founded by six persons of whom five were British, including four members of the Indian Civil Service.

The high English officials in India laid the foundations of the epigraphic and numismatic studies in this country in a proper and scientific manner. The Universities of India, not to speak of other educational institutions, did not take the least interest in these subjects till long after the field was prepared mianly by these British pioneers. By way of vividly bringing home to your minds the state of things even in my student days I would like to briefly refer to my own experience in this matter.

It is now a matter of general knowledge that the coins form the most important, almost exclusive source of information regarding the period that intervened between the fall of the Maurya Empire and the rise of the Gupta Empire, and so my career as a research student in Indian history begin with numismatic studies. But I did not seriously pursue this study until I had to resume it towards the fag end of my career, and as this personal history also illustrates vividly the deficiency of our present numismatic study I shall refer to it at some length.

About ten years ago I began to write, in Bengali, a comprehensive history of Bengal devoting one volume each to the Ancient, Medieval and Modern periods. While writting the History of Bengal of the Medieval Age I found that history of the border State of Tripura or Tipperah and some other neighbouring states has not received due attention from modern scholars though two of them, namely Tripura and Cooch Behar, both Bengali-speaking regions, were independent Hindu States for several centuries when the rest of Bengal and the major part of India were conquered by Muslim rulers. In the course of studying the history of these regions I found that the

coins of Tipperah are not only of great historical importance but also possess some unique features, not to be found in the coins of any other Indian royal dynasties of ancient and medieval periods. As my book was written in Bengali, the coinage of Tripura dealt with therein has not attracted any attention. An English version, though nearly ready, has not yet been published so I would briefly indicate the impotance of the coins in the history of Tripura the study of which forms the last chapter not only of this book but probably also of the numismatic study in my life. A special Appendix has been added dealing with the coinage of Tippera and cooch Behar by Dr. A.N. Lahiri.

Of all the States under Hindu rulers in Medieval India Tripura alone possesses contemporary written historical chronicles known, collectivly as *Rajamālā.* It records an unbroken and detailed history of the Tripura kingdom from the very beginning right up to the 18th century. The book in Bengali language, is divided into four parts written, we are told, under different kings ruling in the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. This Book has naturally formed the principal source of our knowledge of the history of Tripura. But the coins found in Tripura not only correct but also supplement the account given in the *Rājamālā.* So far the coins of the first twenty two of the first twenty-eight historical kings mentioned in the *Rājamāla* have come to light. The legend on each of them, written in Bengali script and Sanskrit language, not only gives the date in Śaka era but also the name not only of the king but also of the queen, together with the name of the deities worshipped by them, sometimes with images of their *vāhanas,* such as Garuḍa of Vishṇu. We have for example *Śrī-Nārayaṇa* (or *Śiva) charaṇa-para, Śrī-Durgārādhanāptavijaya,* etc. A very singular feature is that the name of the queen sometimes precedes that of the king. For example we have Śrī-Lakṣmī-Mahādevī-Śrī Śrī-Ratnamāṇikyau.

These coins of Tripura help us to correct the dates and order of succession given in the Rājamālā. They sometimes corroborate the conquest of neighbouring territories of the Muslim Sultans by the Hindu ruler of Tripura mentioned in the *Rājamālā,* but sometimes also add new names to the list of such conquests. For example we have the legends *Chātigrāma-vijyī-Śrī-Śri-Dhanyamāṇikya-deva-Śri-Kamaladevyau,* on a coin bearing the date Śaka 1436 (1513-4

A.D.). It is very likely that during the disturbed politicoal c ndition of Bengal under the Abyssinian rule the king of Tripura conquered extensive territories in Bengal and occupied Chittagong, and this was commemorated by the issue of gold coins. It may be added that both the *Rājamālā* and the Muslim chronicles refer to a prolonged fight between Husain Shāh of Bengal and Dhanyamāṇikya and the conquest of Chittagong by the latter is prominently mentioned in the *Rājamālā*. *Similarly* the coin of Devamāṇikya refers to the king as *Suvarṇa-grama-vijayī*. This is a new information. It is not unlikely that this very important outpost of the Muslim Bengal was conquered by Tripura while its ruler was engaged in fighting with the Mughul ruler Bābur.

The legends on the coins also refer to the pilgrimage of the king and his bath in the sacred rivers. A coin of Devamāṇikya, dated Śaka 1442, refers to him as *Darāsāra snāyi* and this corroborates the account of the *Rājamālā* that the king took a bath in this holy river after conquering Bhuluya in the Noakhali District and proceeding to the famous place of pilgrimage in the Chandranath Hills. The coins of Vijayamāṇikya, the dates of which range between 1454 to 1485 Saka (1532-63 A.D.) give him no less than seven epithets the last three of which refer to him as having bathed in Dhvajaghāṭa, as well as the Lakshyā and Padmā, the two well-known rivers in East Bengal (now Bangladesh). Quite recently a coin of Mukuṭamāṇikya was found in a British collection and the existence of this king is definitely proved. The date read as 1411 Saka makes him an immediate predecessor of Dharmamānikya who issued coins in 1412.

These examples give us a fair idea of the unique nature of the Tippera coins and their great importance as sources of history. Unfortunately no serious attempt is being made to collect and preserve them. I made some efforts in this direction but without success. During my visit to Tripura about seven years ago I found many boys and girls actually wearing necklaces made of genuine coins which are sure to be lost to scholars. But though I tried to awaken interest of the educated people and the Goverment and actually a proposal was mooted to engage a scholar to collect these coins and prepare a catalogue of those still available, no practical steps have been taken so far. Yet I found, while revising my history of Medieval Bengal and bringing out an English version of it, that

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quite a number of new coins have been sporadically found during the last seven years, furnishing valuable new data. I state all these facts in order to draw the attention of this Society to adopt meaures to preserve this source material before it is irretrievably lost.

This Numismatic Society has already done a great deal of valuable work in this line by bringing to notice coins hitherto unknown and throwing new light on those already known. This is being done by the regular publication of the *Journal*, Annual Conferences and periodical seminars. Much had also been done by way of stock–taking of the knowledge so far gained by publications of catalogues and lists of coins in different museums. Special reference may be made to the *Bibliography of Indian Coins* in two volumes by C. R. Singhal, and two *Catalogues* by late lamented A. S. Altekar, as well as monographs and books dealing with specified series of coins of an area ro of a period.

Another welcome feature is the growing importance attached to numismatic studies in the Universities in India and rich collections of private individuals open to serious students of numismatics. On the whole there are sufficient grounds to feel satisfied with the achievements of the Numismatic Society of India and the progress made in utilising numismatics as a source of knowledge of Indian history. Indeed if we look back upon the progress made during the last sixty years in which the incentives of this Society formed an important factor we may well feel proud. But though much has been done much still remains to be done. I sincerely hope that the yonnger generations of Indian numismatists whom I see before me would do full justice to their rich heritage by making further and richer contributions to our knowledge of the subject. I am happy to witness all these remarkable developments in Indian scholarship in Numismatics during my own life and may die peacefully in the hope that the progress would continue from generation to generation. With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Diamond Jubilee Session of the Numismatic Society of India.

APPENDIX B

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

A. K. Narain

Respected Professor Majumdar, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Fellow Members of the Numismatic Society of India, Ladies and Gentlemen.

As the Chairman of the Numismatic Society of India it is my pleasant duty, first of all, to welcome you all on behalf of the Society as well as on my own, to this Diamond Jubilee Session of the Society. For me, this is, indeed, an added pleasure and privilege to preside over this session. While I am grateful to the members of the Society for having given this opportunity to a person who is yet to deserve it, I have also reasons to be apologetic. As you know, I have been associated with this Society for almost 25 years, out of which for about 20 years I have served it in one capacity or the other. About 15 years ago when the elders of the Society most generously expressed their desire to nominate me for the Presidentship of the Society for a particular year, I succeeded in persuading them in favour of persons senior in age and those who were older members of the Society. In fact I had then resolved in my mind to follow this practice in future. The ideal of my teacher, late Dr. R. B. Whitehead of Cambridge, one of the founder-members of the Numismatic Society of India, who served as the Secretary of the Society for more than ten years and retired without being the President of the Society even for once, was before me. But at the Nagpur Session, in 1970, before I left for abroad, my students and colleagues and members of the Society persuaded me to accept this office in spite of my great reluctance. Honestly speaking, I feel guilty in accepting this position this year and I beg forgiveness and forbearance from my senior colleagues.

Now, Jubilees are normally occasions when we look back to the achievements of individuals and institutions and make good resolutions for future. The Numismatic Society of India had such an occasion in 1961 when it celebrated the Golden Jubilee. When the Numismatic Society of India was founded in 1910, it

was intended to be the co-ordinating body to promote the knowledge and regulate the study of Indian Numismatics. It was thought that the objects of the Society would be attained if members would do what they could to promote and spread a lively interest in the old coins of India and it was hoped that they would themselves become regular collectors. There was no intention to publish any special periodical. In fact, already a *Numismatic Supplement* of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* had been started in 1904 and that was patronized by the potential members of the Society who founded it six years later. The Society started with 46 members of which only 13 were Indians. The Society was in fact a forum for the coin collectors, but among them there were men of learning and historical imagination. It is clear from the proceedings and Presidential speeches of the first years that the problems which concerned the coin collectors weighed more than the problems of research as such. Members of the Society used to be very much concerned if their sources of supply of coin became unresponsive for one reason or another. With the introduction of Numismatics as a subject of study in some of the Universities, particularly in Calcutta, and in Banaras Hindu University, the academic importance of numismatics became more evident and one of the Presidents of the Society emphasized the importance of attracting suitable types of steady and energetic University students to this field of study and drew the attention of the Society as well as of the University Professors and Museum Curators to their task and responsibility of training the new generation. From the thirties we note that the Presidential Addresses of the Society become partly academic dissertations and partly survey of discoveries and new contributions. With the interest shown by officers of Archaeological Survey on the one hand and by the University scholars on the other, the Society gradually tended to be more academic and the coin collectors were left behind. This process of gradual transformation of the Society into more as a forum of academic discussion than that of collectors became complete by 1939 when the Society started its own periodical. I do not have to remind you of the valuable publications of the Society and it would be no exaggeration to claim that for Numismatic information and discussion the Journal of the Society and its publications are as important as publications of the Archaeological Survey for archaeological discoveries

and reports or as *Epigraphia Indica* is for the discovery and study of inscriptions. Much of the credit for this must go to Professor Altekar and I take this opportunity to pay my homage to him.

No doubt the Society has continued its normal routine activities in spite of great financial handicaps. At the same time we should also not fail to note that some of the good resolutions and some of the useful programmes we proposed during our last Jubilee celebrations have not been implemented. It is true that the last decade has been a period of crisis for many institutions in our country and we have passed through difficult times during this period. For the first time, for example, within a decade, the Society failed to hold its Annual Conference for as many as three years, first during the time of Chinese confrontation and then during the time of Bangla Desh crisis. There were other reasons also beyond our control. The fact of the matter is that we have reached a stage in the history of the Society when we have to decide either to confine our activities merely to the publication of the journal and holding Annual business meetings or to continue pursuing objectives in the wider perspective and assume greater responsibilities towards the fulfillment of certain goals for the growth of the numismatic discipline, for dissemination of historical knowledge as well as certain social and national roles essential for intellectual growth. If we select the first option, I have nothing to say, but if we select the second option, we must realise that the Society can succeed in its objectives only if we get substantial co-operation from the Universities, Departments of Archaeology and Museums, State and Central Governments. One may very well argue that the Society is being unnecessarily ambitious in having objectives of such dimensions which are beyond its capacity, resources and organisation. But our only justification has been that in our country we lacked other agencies to take care of the very vital problems connected with the growth and development of the discipline of numismatics and related problems. For example, the Archaeological Survey of India, in its history of more than a hundred years, has never thought of having a full fledged department of numismatics as it has for Epigraphy and there is no Government Numismatist as there is a Government Epigraphist. Similarly the Museums, with very notable exceptions, have not given much attention to

their coin collections and in the organization of their studies. It is indeed most surprising that even the National Museum never thought of having a full-time keeper of coins and medals, as is the case normally, in such museums as the British Museum, in other countries. There is no national collection of coins and nothing has been done by the Government to organise a department or a machinery for their classification and study. The only interest which the State Governments have taken in the matter of coins is to confiscate treasure trove finds of coins and dump them in various museums without proper classificatian and destroy the value of these finds. The treasure trove laws are so outdated and the machinery to deal with it is so unsatisfactory that more coins go to the melting pot and to the shroff than to the Police Department for being forwarded to the Museums by a very complicated process. In this respect, far from making a positive contribution towards the development and organization of numismatic study, this has done disservice to its cause.

With its own building in the campus of the Banaras Hindu University it was considered feasible to reorganize the Society with a view to preparing the Society for an active role as a clearing house not only for the coin-collector but also for numismatic studies in general. On the one hand the Society thought of taking steps for popularizing the knowledge of Indian coins by encouraging their collection and study as a hobby among the students of schools and colleges as well as in general public and on the other hand, extended its co-operation to the Department of Ancient Indian History Culture and Archaeology for imparting specialized training in Numismatics by offering its facilities. With these ends in view, the Society reorganized its library and strengthened it and asked for Goverment assistance to develop a a museum of representative original coins electroplated specimens and plaster casts of coins and photographs and slides in order that the demands of the schools and colleges and that of the general public could be met. For the specialized training the Banaras Hindu University had already introduced a Two-Year Post-Graduate Diploma Course, for the first time in India which covered the entire range from the origin of coins in India to the modern and also took care to impart practical training in the scientific aspects of the study of coins in

collaboration with such departments as Chemistry and Metallurgy. The Society with its facilities of library played a vital rale in giving assistance, both theoretical and practical, to these students of the Diploma Course and helped towards the expert training in Numismatics. I am glad to inform you that not only Indian students but also students from foreign countries were trained under this programme. But I cannot help mentioning here that it is lamentable that the Government did not take note of it for employment purposes for the job of Numismatists in the museums and Archaeological Survey. While it gave recognition to the Diploma in Archaeology, it did not extend the same favour to this Diploma in Numismatics. It is an irony that while the University Grants Commission and the Government of India, under the Technical Colombo plan, sanctioned grants-in-aid to Banaras Hindu University for the organization and development of this course, other wings of the Government did not take advantage of this training provided by the University and for which the Numismatic Society so enthusiastically made its own contributions.

The Society also made not only proposals but sincere efforts towards the publication of Corpus Numismatorum Indicarum volumes and towards the classification and preparation of catalague of coins in the various museums of India, but these schemes have not materialized on account of lack of funds. The Society was concerned very much when under Defence of India Rules the Government promulgated Gold Rules in 1963. While the step was essential in the national interest, it was a serious handicap to the collection of gold coins and ultimately harmful to the cause of numismtic study in particular and historical study in general. Therefore, the Society took up the matter with the Ministry of Finance and a partial relaxation of the rules was obtained and the Society was authorized to certify the bonafides of coin collectors for the necessary exemption or permission for the purchase and sale of the gold coins. The Society appreciated the co-operation of the Government in this respect but from the experience of the last ten years it has been found that the handicaps still remain. We feel that noharm

will be done to our national interest if the collection of all gold coins issued before 1947 is made entirely free from the operation of the Gold Rules. The fear of misuse of this privilege and smuggling of gold out of or into India in the form of coins is practically non-existent. Gold coins of historical interest invariably fetch a price higher than their material content and there is absolutely no inducement to acquire or hoard with a view to make a substantial gain at a later date. The bonafide numismatist will, therefore, never commit any irregularity as feared by Government. A licensed jeweller, at any time, will only offer a price in consideration of the metal content of the gold coin but numismatists will fetch a price consistent with its historical value. The risk of smuggling of gold coins into India is also practically nonexistent. For one thing, the indigenous gold coins are entirely in their original shape and there is no chance of their being smuggled into India from outside. They are found either as heirlooms in old families or as treasure troves and they are sold in the market at prices higher than their metal value. So far as the foreign coins are concerned, their chance of being smuggled into India are remote. No gold coins are current in any part of the world since 1935. Those coins which were issued earlier have now become rare and fetch more value in their own country or elsewhere as coins than what smugglers get in this country as the price of gold, the only exception being the British sovereigns that are sold in the country as a bullion. Here I may

also add the problem of coin collectors on account of the export rules and because of the malpractices in respect of the export of objects of art. There cannot be two opinions about the preservation and protection of national heritage. All scholars and archaeologists strongly support steps taken by the Government towards effectively stopping the export or smuggling out of the country of valuable antiquities. At the same time we must appreciate the situation as it is obtaining in the field of coin collecting and coin dealing. Just as postal stamps are considered useful items for earning foreign exchange, certain categories and types of coins can very well bo used for earning foreign exchange. A carefully planned and enlightened policy in this

respect is highly desirable. I am glad to report that the Society made some progress towards solving this aspect of the problem and the Government of India entrusted the Society with the task of preparing a representative list of such common coin-types, the export of which could be permitted without any hindrance and license. We are glad to report that such a list has already been prepared by Dr. Nisar Ahamd under my guidance and it will go to press as soon as we are able to collect the photographs and make the line drawings where necessary to illustrate the list in order to make it more handy to the Customs authorities as well as to the general collector of coins and to the tourists.

So, you can see that the Society has earnestly directed its attention towards such objectives as are of national, social and economic importance rather than confining itself to the routine activities of producing a Journal and holding annual business meetings. We will appeal to the Government and other agencies for their active and effective support towards the success of our meaningful objectives of national importance. We do not, therefore, have to give an apologia for our so-called ambitious aims. We are passing through a phase in our country when there are genuine protests all around.

From the role of the Society in the promotion of Numismatic studies let us come to the discipline of numismatics itself. No doubt Numismatics provides material for histortcal writing on ancient civilizations, but all the same Numismatics is also an independent discipline and is a subject of study just as History is. Numismatists have contributed to History while historians have used Numismatic evidence for historical writing. Whereas the historian, for certain periods of history, need not be a Numismatits, a Numismatist has to be always a student of history. In fact, not only do numismatists have to be historians to enable them to carry out their specialized task of classifying coins, but by the classification of coins they make a substantial contribution to the study of history. It is a pity that some of the historians do not appreciate this point. For certain periods of history it is indeed very essential for the historian to understand the nature and role of the numismatic discipline. We must, therefore, study coins as coins first and not merely as a source of history and culture.

Sir William Tarn, a great historian in the *Introduction* of his book on *The Greeks in Bactria and India* said :

"The coins of course are all important, and one cannot overpraise the work done on them by generations of numismatists; it seems to me one of the wonders of scholarship. But the numismatist as such has sometimes been unable to place or explain the facts which he has elicited; naturally so, for he is not expected to be a Hellenistic historian. Again, I can only hope that I have not missed too much; with one or two exceptions, my knowledge of the coins has, of necessity, been confined to printed publications and the unrivalled collection in the British Museum; one is never safe from the unpublished coin in private hands......Naturally I am not concerned with the coins as coins, but only as material for history".

As against this, Dr. Whitehead, an eminent numismatist, in his article on "The place of Coins in Indian History", in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society 1913-14,* thought of coins as a science and included it among the sciences which underlie the whole development of scientific history. He emphasized that History as art remained paramount till the 19th century, but as a science it has now gained recognition as a distinct subject, and has also raised with it a group of auxiliary sciences which serve either as tools for the purposes of enquiry or as a basis for testing results. The obvious difference between Sir William Tarn and Dr. Whitehead is that of a historian, who has used numismatic material without knowledge of coins as coins, and a numismatist for whom coins have served, in the capacity of an auxiliary science, as tools for the purposes of an enquiry as a basis of testing results for the purposes of historical writing. Whereas a numismatist tends to treat history as a science, the historian treats it as a literature. For the numismatist the method is more important than the background, accuracy is more important than flourish. In fact, the numismatist is more cautious than the historian. The numismatist belives that history is a science in its method, and that the means are more important than the end. He is satisfied if he prepares the source material on scientific basis and presents his result in a critical manner. The scientific discipline gives

him a restraint of judgment and an objective approach which the historian somtimes lacks in his treatment of the same period in his bid to write 'a great history'.

This is not to say that the numismatist is never subjective and does not suffer from assumptions. It is interesting to note from the Preface of the *Punjab Museum Catalogue* that for whitehad, the intrinsic interest of the coins described in his work was great because they made a strong appeal to the favourable notice of collectors, especially to those belonging to that Europen nation which is the first to have accomplished from the seas what Creece did from the land, and so might be regarded as a legitimate successor of the Greeks in the Punjab. But in these lines whitehead is simply betraying the ideas of the time and the group to which he belonged and in his study we do not find that his assumptions have swayed him to that degree to which a historian, who treats history more as a literature than science, is swayed; he stops to pause and examine his coins and ultimately says only what his coins can tell. In fact, a critic can charge that Whitehead stops just at the point where the historical imagination is needed, or perhaps he lacks the historical imagination. But this is where the difference lies between him and the historian.

For certain periods of history it is indeed imperative to be both a trained numismatist and a trained historian. It would be unwise if a historian thinks that he can use all evidence without being trained in the discipline of those sciences which he takes merely as what he calls 'evidence' and so also it is presumptuous on the part of a numismatist if he does not stop just at the point where historical imagination is need. Unfortunately there is no dearth of examples, and perhaps more in our own country than elsewhere, of numismatists who cannot control their imagination when they ought to, and more so when sometimes the imagination is *not* what you may call 'historical imagination' but is in fact imagination of a poet. There are also historians who take liberties with coins and exercise their prerogative of selection of evidence by indiscriminate use of numismatic contributions, which is, more often than not, misleading because of the lack of traing in the appreciation of Numismatics as discipline in its own right. In our universities students of History hardly study Numismatics; I do not know if they know what the science of numismatics is about.

It is only in the courses of studies for Ancient History, Gulture and Arch-aeology that numismatics is taught. But it is taught as a source material and not as numismatics *per se.* The result is that *some* of the students pass thier examinations even without having seen a coin. The situation is still worse for Mediaeval History and Culture, because to the best of my knowledge, it is not even taught as a source material. I would like to make a plea to my colleagues and to institutions interested in the studies of History and Culture, not only to have compulsorily a study-collection of representative original coins, plaster casts, slides and photographs for the use of students, but also to treat the teaching of numismatics as of primary importance by appointing a specialist or at least one who would give his full-time attention to the cultivation of the discipline.

It is becaure of this lack of understanding of the science of numismatics *Per sē* that it has not been properly used for the studies of some of the fundamental factors and subtler aspects of History add Culture. No doubt it is important to notice new discoveries and describe the coin-type, read the coin-legend, measure the weight and size and announce the name of a new King or an issuer. While this must continue in order that basic descriptive information is collected, our attention must be directed towards raising significant questions in respect to the social, economic and religious problems of History. This needs saying because while the corpus of basic descriptive material is growing every day, and sometimes we enter into unnecessary hair-splitting discussions about imaginary readings, our attention is not being directed correspondingly to that extent to which it is desirable. I am glad to note the initiative taken by the Numismaric Society of India and some of the University Departments of Ancient History and Culture in thir direction, as a result of which about half dozen Seminars were organized during the last few years and reports of some of which are already published. One of these seminars deals with the Economic History and I understand during the present session one on Art History is scheduled.

I do not suppose I have said much that is new. Let me end, therefore, by reporting on some of the important recent discoveries which have come to my notice in my own area of interest

The most important among these, in my opinion, is the discovery of the bilingual coins of Agathocles in the excavations at Ai-Khanum on the southerń bank of Oxus on the very borders of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. A brief notice for the information of the readers of the journal of the Society has been published by me in the Jubilee-issue which has just come out. The excavator of these coins has identified the two figures appearing on these coins as those of Vihṇu and Śiva. In my note I have held that these are the figures of Vāsudev-Kṛishna and Sankarshaṇa-Balarāma. The internal evidence of the coin as well as the archaeological context indicates that these are the earliest depictions of these two gods so well-known to the students of the History of Bhakti movement. This adds a new dimension to the historical importance of the indo-Greek leanings to the Bhāgavat as known from the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus.

The other imporant discovery which I have recently reported at the Paris session of the InternationalCongress of Orientalists, is a Silver drachm of Hermaeus from the collection of the British Museum, which, in my opinion, has a type on the reverse which is an attempt to depict Gaṇesa. If this is accepted surely this would be the earliest representation of Gaṇeśa and a veritable specimen of snycretic tendencies which started operating from the time of the Indo-Greeks and resulted in the formation of many new gods and goddesses. This is also an example of how a local deity was transformed, or if you may like to say, elevated to the respectable status in the pantheon of higher class deities.

It was interesting to examine the Stein collection of Central Asian coins in the British Museum. In collaboration with Mr. Cribb of the British Museum, who is working on Chinese coins we reported at the Paris session of the International Congress of Orientalists on the Sino-Kharoshṭhī coins of the Stein collection. It was found after proper cleaning of the coin that there is no Silver-specimen in the British Museum as reported earlier. And if this is so the solitary silver specimen in the Hermitage Leningrad remains as the unique piece of this series. I had an occasion to check this in Leningrad last August. We have also shown that these sino-Kharoshṭhī coins were issued in the first half of cecond century A.D. when the Kushāṇa influence was stronger than the Chinese in Central Asia.

In the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Mr. Curiel showed me some of the recent acquisitons and I must admit I was very pleasantly surprised to find two new gold coins of the Indo-Greeks,-one belonging to Euthydemus I and the other to Heliokles II. The Euthydemus coin is of almost the same size as his tatradrachms with a realistic portrait depicting him in his old age. The Heliokles coin is of the bilingual type. A note on these two coins will be shortly published. I hope these coins are genuine. Mr. Curiel at least feels assured about their genuiness. Anyway the discovery of these two gold coins provides a new ray of hope for those who had begun feeling as if the Indo-Greek coin types are now exhausted. The significent fact of this discovery is that even bilingual gold coins of the Indo Greeks can be now expected.

I visited the USSR again last August and I am glad to report that much new material available in the Soviet Union bearing on the Saka--Kushāṇa period on account of recent archaeological work in Soviet Central Asia which has not been utilized by students of Numismatics and History outside the Soviet Union.

So also I am pleased to report about the discovery of a coin in the excavations at Sonkh near Mathura. Dr. Haertel, who has been doing the work most splendidly, showed the plaster cast of it to me in Berlin and told me that he has been advised to read the legend by some of our friends here as Huvishka son of King Kanishka I have some doubts about the reading and I reserve my judgment until I have seen the original, But certainly *if* this reading is correct it is a very important piece of evidence and is a unique coin in the whole of the Kushāṇa series. The Sonkh excavation of Dr. Haertel has also very clearly shown the sequence of the post-Mauryan history down to the Kushāṇa period and helps solving some of the problems of the sequence of the Mitra and the Datta king of of the local series in relation to the Mathura Satraps.

Let me now thank you for your patience and cooperation. I hope you all will join me in wishing the Numismatice Society of India a long life of prosperity and fruitful activities.

APPENDIX C
GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT
Annual Report for 1973.

Mr. President and Fellow Members,

We had met last in April 1972 and are now meeting after 18 months, an unusual gap in between our two meetings. But this is all due to many unforeseen circumstances. The Annual meeting for 1971 could not be held as scheduled in October–November 1971 for the reasons that I have already explained to you in my ealier report. Then we had decided to hold our next meeting in February this year. But partly due to my absence from India and partly due to some other odd circumstances, it was not possible to hold the meeting at that time; so the Executive Committee thought it better to regularise our meeting by having at the usual scheduled time in October–November. Thus we have lost one annual meeting. The meeting which normally would have been the 62nd Annual meeting is now the 61st meeting.

The Society completed its 60 years of existence on 28the December 1971. We had celebrated silver Jubilee after completing 25 years and Golden Jubilee after 50 years so, it was natural for us to think of celebrating the Diamond Jubilee after the end of 60 years, but we are now assembled here to celebrate that occasion two years later. However, the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee had given us an occasion for a retrospection of our activities and to assess what we have achieved in fulfilling the goal of the Society and what we have yet to achieve. I am happy that I am associated with it on this occasion.

In the year 1971 we had lost one of our important members Shri B.S. Sitholey; but we came to know of his death only recently. I feel my duty to inform you about it and to say that Shri Sitholey was a silent but patient worker in the field of numismatics. He contributed some of the interesting articles on the Gupta numismatics to our *Journal*.

Membership.

At the last meeting I had reported the membership figure of our Society as 454. It included 3 Honorary Fellows, 1 Honorary member, 57 Life members, 300 Individual members, 89 Institutional members and 4 dealer members. This year, we have only 396 members which include the new members enrolled this year. This

should not surpise you. Till this time, we were counting even those as our members who had not paid their subscription for many years I closely scrutinised the membership list and have not included those who have not paid their subscription for many years before 1970. On our roll are now only those who have paid their subscription at least upto 1971. I have, however, not yet removed their names from membership. I am persuading such members to pay off their Ihope that they would pay the dues and Continue their membership We had been inadvertently treating some institutions as institutional members which were actually only subscribers of our Journal and were giving them facilities available to a member. Treating them as our members was a loss to the Society. So I have removed their names from the membership list and placed them in their proper category.

I am happy to say that coin-dealers are now taking some interest in the Society. Upto last year we had only four members, now we have 14.

Finances.

The position of the Society's fund will be given in the accounts to be submitted by the Treasurer. I have nothing to add to what I had said in my last years Report. The sources of our funds are very limited and unless we have some new way of increasing our funds, it would not be possible for the Society to function properly. The one way to raise the funds is to secure donations. To achieve this end we could secure, after long persuasions, Income Tax Exemption Certificate under Section 18 G of the Income Tax, late last year; but it was valid only till March 1973. Before we could take some substantial steps, the time expired; and till now we could not have the renewal of that exemption certificate. Nothing can be done in raising donations till we have the Certificate renewed for which we are trying. Meanwhite, Lowere, the Gujarat Government has sanctioned Rs. 250/- as an ad-hod grand. Indian council of Historical Research has given us a grant of Rs. 6000/- to help us in publishing the journal for 1973.

Journal.

At the time of the last meeting Volume XXXIII of the Journal for 1971 was published. I had hoped that it would be possible to bring out Volum XXXIV for 1972 during that year

and Volume XXXV for 1973 could well then be brought out by the time of our present meeting. But I regret to say that the two parts of Vol XXXIV (1972) could be brought out only now. They would be available to members who are present here. The Volume for 1973, which we had contemplated as Diamond Jublee nubmer, has been sent to Press in time. The Press had assured us to bring it out on this occasion; I most regretfully say that it failed to keep its promise. It would take sometime more before it is published. My endeavour would be to put it in the hands of our members before the end of the year. Thereafter, I think, if we adhere to some schedule, we may have the Journal for 1974 in time inspite of the difficulties with the press, and thereafter have the Journal regularly.

As I had mentioned in my last year's report, we have sent Vols. III–V of the Journal to press for reprint. But unfortunately the press has not executed the work as yet; but I hope these will be available by the end of the year.

Memoirs And Monographs.

No monograph was undertaken this year for publication. But a Memoir, *Śaka-Pahlava Coinage* by D.W. Dobbins, that was sent to press some years back, I am glad to say, is now printed and available for sale.

Numismatic Supplements.

The Asiate Society of Bengal has reprinted Numismatic supplements Nos. 1–16. It is available to the Society at a concessional rate for its members. I had asked the Society some months back to send 50 copies and they sent them last month; but unfortunately the Railway transport is so slow that parcel has not reached Varanasi till this day. This is a most sad affair; I am unable to fulfil the promise that I had made you in one of my circular letters. But as soon as the books are recieved, they will be sent to members who have desired to have it.

Souvenir.

Another publication that the Society was scheduled to publish on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee was a compilation of the Presidential Addresses of the past 60 Presidents. It is in the press and it ought to have been here by now but due to some

unforeseen circumstances, I am unable to present it now; but within a week, it would be out.

Other Activities

Last year the Government of India has passed an Act that makes compulsory for the coin dealers to obtain a licence and for coin collectors a permit. The Act is highly detrimental to the cause of the numismatic studies. So as General Secretary I met officials of the Government of India last February and submitted a Memorandum to the Government. Though nothing has come out as yet, I have every hope that there would be some relaxation in the rules that are being framed under the Act for the coin-collectors and coin-dealers.

There was hardly any other activity on the other front of the Society; so I have hardly to say anything about them.

Lastly, I thank you very much for having me as your General Secretary for two terms. I know my own limitations so I am not sure if I have been able to do anything substantial for the Society, I earnestly request you to spare me from this duty and elect some young and enthusiastic member in my place.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at 31st March, 1973 and the annexed Income & Expenditure Account for the year ended on that date of The Numismatic Society of India, P.O. Hindu University, Varanasi-5 with the books and vouchers and beg to report that we obtained all the information and explanations we have required. In our opinion the above Balance Sheet exhitits a true and correct view of the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society, subject to that :—

1) The following sums have been received, the receipts issued to the parties concerned and sent to the Bank for crediting into our account on the dates menioned against each item but have not been found credited into our account till the date of audit. The amount may be checked and Bank be requested for crediting the forthwith :

Date	Receipt No.	Amount	Particular
31.3.1971.	107	80.00	Subscription.
26.4.1971.	143	100.00	Subscription.
12.8,1971.	213	4.00	Sales of Pulication
6.9.1971.	236	3 Ponds.	Subscription.
30.12.1971.	326	7 Dollars.	Subscription.
23.2.1972.	362	3 Dollars.	Sale of Publication
23.2.1972.	362	7 Dollars.	Subscription.
16.11.1972.	632	7.63.Dollars.	Sale of Publication.
22.12.1972.	650	3 Ponds.	Subscription.
22.12.1972,	651	10 Dollars.	Subscription.
12.1.1973.	668	15 Dollars.	Subscription.
13.1.1973.	670	3 Pond.	Subscription.
22.1.1973.	684	10 Ponds.	Subscription.
13.2.1973.	711	5 Ponds.	Subscription.
6.2.1973.	716	3.25 Ponds.	Subscription.
19.2.1973.	738	7.25 Dollars.	Subscription.
19.2.1973.	740	14 Dollars.	Subscription.
19.2.1173.	741	20.25 Dollars.	Subscription.
19.2.1973.	742	16 Ponds.	Subscription.
19.2.1973.	743	4 Ponds.	Subscription.
19.2.1973.	744	4 Dollars.	Subscription.
5.3.1973.	760	14 Dollars	Subscription.
12.3.1973,	761 (Cash)	7 Dollars.	Subscription.
14.3.1973.	766	2.65 Ponds.	Subscription.
15.3.1973.	767	21 Dollers.	Subscription.
21.3.1973.	773	21.50 Dollars.	Subscription,
27.3.1973.	781	21 Dollars.	Subscription.
30.3.1973.	785	3 Ponds.	Subscription.
30.3.1973.	786	3 Ponds.	Subscription.

DATED:-22nd Sept., 1973. Sd-Ghanshyam Das

Varanasi. **GHANSHYAM DAS & Co.**

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS.

Balance Sheet As At 31st March 1973.

Figure of the previous Year.	Capital & Liabilties.	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
	Special Fund:—		
35, 593. 59	Balance as per last B/S-	35,593.59	
	Add Transferred from the following funds:—		
3, 000. 00	Furniture Fund.	3, 000.00	
3, 000. 00	Library Fund.	3, 000.00	
4, 000. 00	Musem Fund.	4, 000.00	
2, 500. 00	Strong Room Fund.	2, 500.00	
40, 262. 59	Building Fund.	40, 262.59	88, 356.18
1, 559. 48	Booklet Scheme.		1, 559.48
1. 23	Sundry Advance.		1.23
1, 016. 00	Sundry Liabilities for Editor's Honorarium & Contribution charges.		1, 016.00
531. 00	Sundry Liabilities for Gupta Coins,		531.00
455. 00	Sundry Liabilities for Golden Jubilee Expences.		455.00
114.50	Mr. C. H. Bidulph.		114 50
	General Fund:—		
1, 488. 06	Balance as per last B/S.		1, 488.09
	Advance for sale of Publication.		680.00
93, 521. 45	Total Rs.		94, 201.45

Dated:—22nd Sept., 1973, Sd/—Ghanshyam Das

Varanasi

Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants.

Balance Sheet As At 31st March 1973

Figure of the Previous year	Assets and Properties.	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
35, 120. 80	Building :—	35, 120.80	
	Less depreciation for the year	878.00	34,242.80
2, 904. 40	Dies:—		
	Less depreciation for the year	298.40	2,686.00
4, 410. 75	Furniture: —	4.410.40	
	Less depreciation for the year	441.00	3,969.75
557.94	Typewriter :—	557.94	
	Less depreciation for the year	83.70	474.24
2, 503.40	Library :—	2,503.40	
	Less depreciation for the year	375.40	2,128.00
174.00	Duplicator:—	174.00	
	Less depreciation for the year	26.10	174.90
49.27	Sundry Advance.		49.27
1,605.00	M/S. Eureka Printing Works.		1,285.50
4,000.03	Museum at cost.		4,000.03
2,590.00	Strong Room.		2,590.00
7,000.00	Investments:—		
	National Saving Certificate.		11.550.00
	Cash and Bank Balances:—		
1,559.48	With State Bank of India (Govt. of India Grant Booklet Scheme).	1,559.48	
13,173.71	With State Bank of India, B.H.U.	5, 430.45	
1,067.57	Cash in hand	23.00	
14,236.45	With Post Office B.H.U. Saving Bank A/C.P.B.N. 341977 (Special Publication).	14,179.15	
— —	With State Bank of India, Saving Bank A/C.N. 15170.	4,200.00	25,392.08
3,488.65	Excess of Expenditure over Income:—	3,433.65	
	Addition during the year.	2,197.23	5,685.88
93,521.45	Total Rs.		94,201.45

Dated—22nd Sept. 1973 Sd/-Ghanshyam Das

Varanasi

Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants.

Year Ended 31st March 1973

Figure of the Previous year	Expenditure.	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
3,127.40	To Printing charges–		
1,912.65	,, Postage & Telegrams		1,625.80
8,736.93	,, Salary (including allowance, D.A. & P.F.)		9,692.61
200.00	,, Editor's Honorarium.		400.00
5,544.03	,, Publication Expenses:—		
	Cost of Paper.	4,496.31	
	Cost of Printing	4,304.12	
	Cost of Binding.	335.75	
	Cost of Blocks.	1,028.10	
	Draftmanship.	68.50	10,240.78
183.51	,, Bank commission.		150.40
510.39	,, Sundry Expenses.		873.84
715.55	,, Travelling & Conveyance.		1,448.89
150.00	,, Audit Fee.		150.00
133.30	,, Electric & Water supply.		790.50
649.14	,, Stationary.		1,636.74
1,573.65	,, Telephone charges.		1,289.50
—	,, Author's Honorarium.		276.00
–	,, Conference Expenses.		1,308.52
2,293.35	,, Depreciation on Assests:—		
	Building.	878.00	
	Dies.	298.40	
	Furniture.	441.00	
	Typewriter.	83.70	
	Library.	315.40	
	Duplicator.	26.10	2,102.60
25, 729.90	Total	Rs.	31,985.18

As per our report on that date on Balance Sheet.

Dated:—22nd September, 1973. Sd/-Ghanshyam Das

Varanasi **Ghanshyam Das & Co.**

Chartered Accountants.

Income And Expenditure Account For The Year 31st March1973

Figures of the Previous Year.	Income.	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
5,545.95	By Sale of Publications.		8,308.55
10,940.03	" Subscription Received.		9,210,20
111.00	" Delegation Fee.		305.00
431,27	" Donation Received.		458.00
——	" Interest Received.		5,492.70
40.00	" Advertisement charges.		125.00
273.00	" Miscellaneous Income.		28.50
4,900.00	" Government Grants:—		
	Gujrat Government for 1912–73.	250.00	
	Madhya Pradesh Government for 1912–73.	300.00	
	Orissa Government for 1971–72	300.00	
	Uttar Pradesh Government for 1971–72	500.00	
	Central Government for 1971–72	4.000.00	5,850.00
3,488.65	" Excess of Expenditure over Income.		2,197.23
25, 729.90	Total	Rs.	31, 985. 18

As per our repor t on that date on Balance Sheet.

Dated:—22nd September, 1973. Sd/–Ghanshyam Das

Varanasi. **Ghanshyam Das & Co.**

Chartered Accountants.

Proposed Budget for Theyear 1973-74.

S.N.	Particular.	Actuals Income	estimates for the year		remark
		1972–73.	1973–74	1974–75.	
	BY Balance	41.28	23.00	14.34	
	a) General Fund. 39-36				
	b) Sale of Publication.				
	FUND 1-92				
1.	Subscription.	9210.20	8000.00	8000.00	
2.	Deligation Fee.	350.00	— —	— —	
3.	Advertisements.	125.00	500.00	500.00	
4.	Donations.	458.00	500.00	500.00	
5.	Refund of Advane.	319.50	1285.50	— —	
6.	Suspence Account.	38.50	— —	— —	
7.	Government Grants;				
	a) Gujarat. 1972–73	250.00	250.00	250.00	
	b) Madhya Pradesh. "	300.00	300.00	300.00	
	c) Maharashtra. "	500.00	500.00	500.00	
	d) Uttar Pradesh. "	500.00	500.00	500.00	
	e) Orissa. 1971-72	300.00	300.00	300.00	
	f) Central Govt. "	4000.00	8000.00	4000.00	
	g) Bihar 1968-69; 71-72; 72-73 and 73-74	— —	1200.00	300.00	
	h) West Bengal 1968-69; 71-72;72-73 and 73-74.		3300.00	1000.00	
	i) Madras 1971-72;72-73 &		1800.00	600.00	
	j) Rajasthan 1972-3 and 73-4		600.00	300.00	
8.	Sale of Publications	8988.55	10000.00	10000.00	
	8308.55 Advance 680.00				
	Lone From Reserve Fund.	4569.55	— —	— —	
	DEFICIT		24400.00	35600.00	
		29,905.58	61,758.50	62,664.34	

Sd.-B.N. Mukherjee
GENERAL SECRETARY

Dr. Lallanji Copal
TREASURER

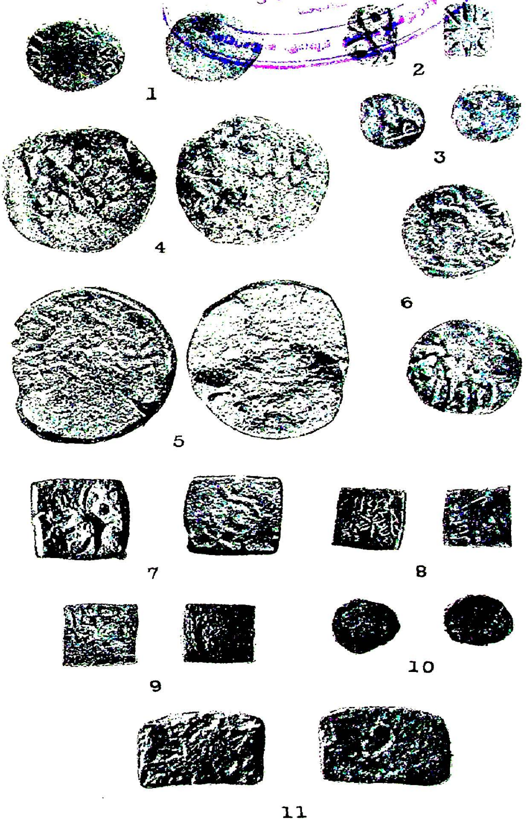
Proposed Budget For The Year 1973-74

EXPENDITURE

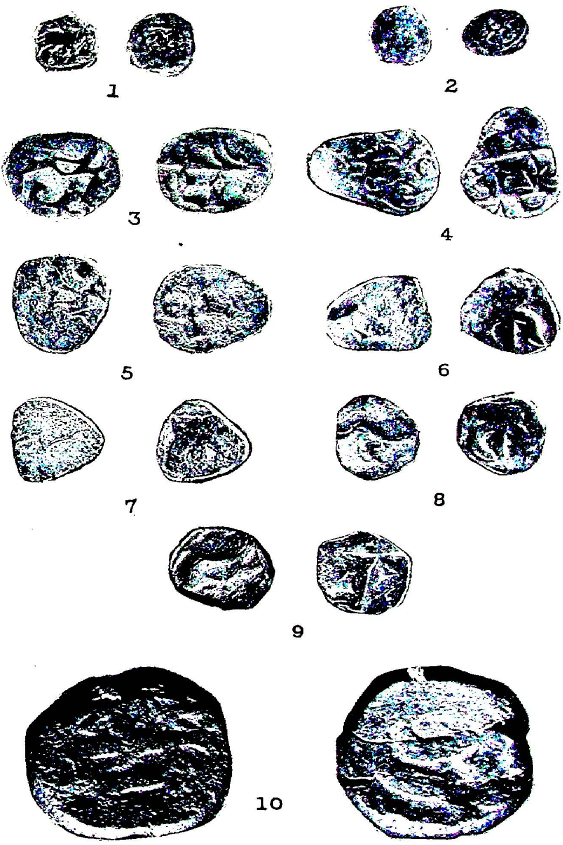
S.N.	Particular.	Actuals 1972-73	Estimates 1973-74	For The years 1974-75	Remarks
1.	To Salary, D.A. Interim Relief. Contribution to P. F. etc.	9692.61	9994.16	11,876.38	
2.	Honorarium :—				
	a) Authors.	276.00	1500.00	1,500.00	
	b) Editors.	400.00	600.00	600.00	
	c) Asstt. Secretary	— —	600.00	600.00	
	d) Auditor.	150.00	150.00	150.00	
3.	Office Expences :				
	a) Stationary.	1636.74	2000-00	2,000.00	
	b) Postage.	1625.80	2000.00	2,000.00	
	c) Telephone.	1288.50	500.00	500.00	
	d) Electric Bill & Goods.	790.50	1500.00	1,500.00	
	e) Contingency.	873.84	1200.00	1,200.00	
	f) Banking Charges.	150.40	200.00	200.00	
4.	Travelling Allowance, etc.	1448.89	1500,00	1,500.00	
5.	Printing of Journals & Monographs etc.				
	a) Cost of Paper. 4486. 31				
	b) Block Making. 1028.10				
	c) Binding charge. 353.75				
	d) Draftsmanship. 68,50				
	e) Printing charge. 4304,12	10240.78	250.00	25,000.00	
6.	Contribution charges.	— —	3000.00	1,500.00	
7.	Publication's publicity.	— —	100.00	1,000.00	
8.	Conference & Seminar.	1308.52	2000.00	2,000.00	
9.	Prizes.	— —	500.00	500.00	
10	Library.	— —	2500.00	2,500.00	
11.	Museum.	— —	1000.00	1.000.00	
12.	Furniture.	— —	3000.00	3,000.00	
13.	Building.	— —	2000.00	2,500.00	
	BALANCE	23.00	14.84	37.96	
		29,905.58	61,758,50	62,664,34	

Sd. B.N. Mukherjee
GENERAL SECRETARY

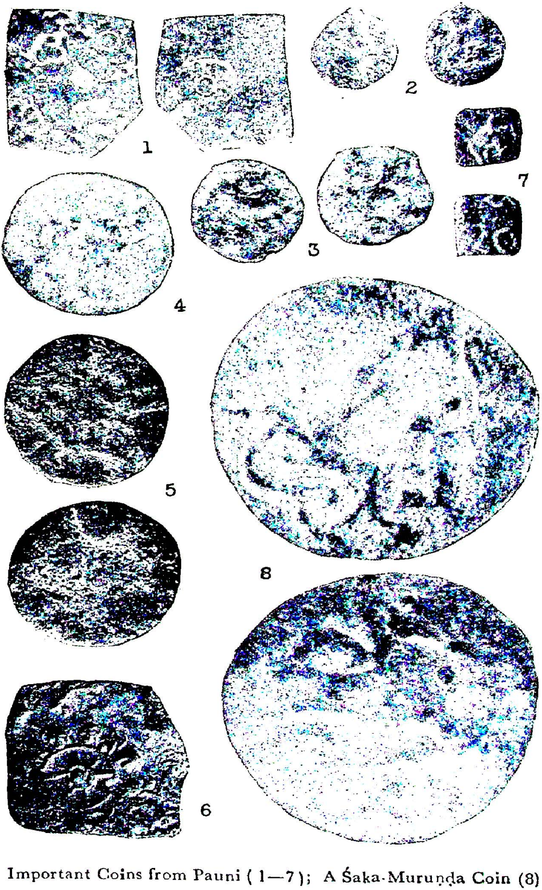
Sd. Lallanji Gopal
TREASURER



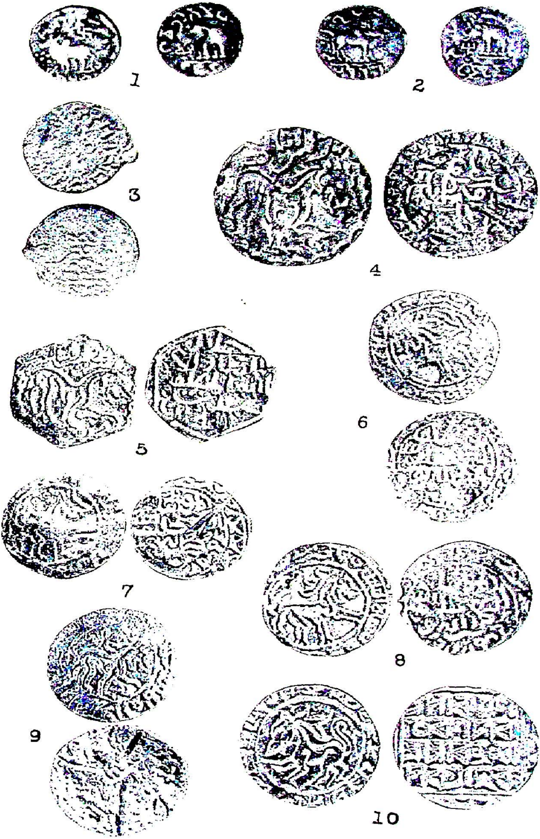
Coins from Sankisa (1-10); An interesting Coin from Pauni (11)



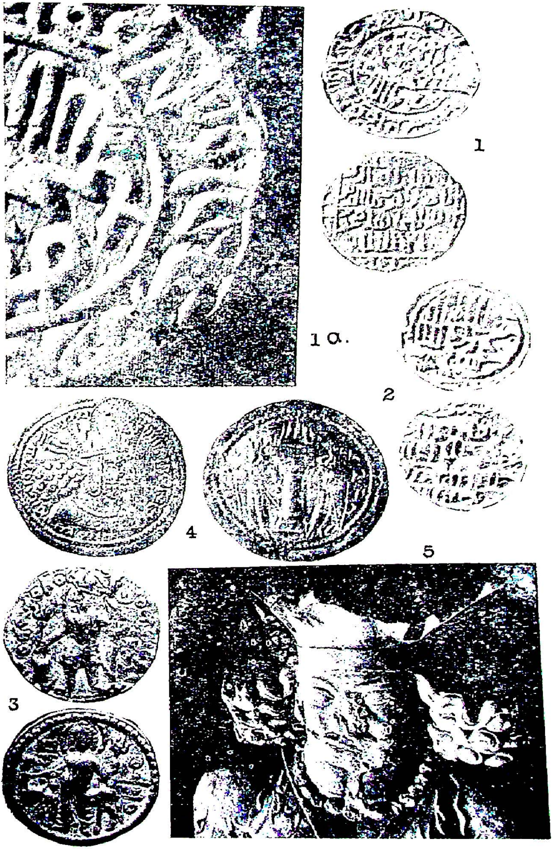
Coins from Sankisa



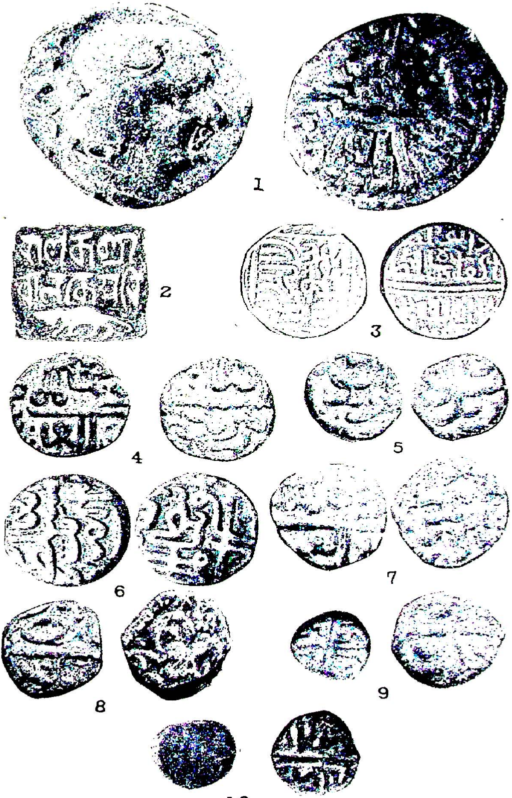
Important Coins from Pauni (1—7); A Śaka-Murunḍa Coin (8)



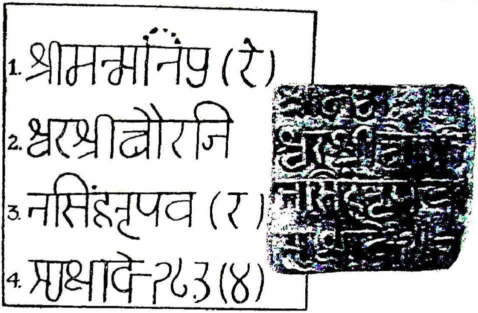
Tribal coins of the Lingen Collection (1–3); Coins of Nasiru-d-din Mahmud Shah I of Bengal (4–10).



Two new coins of Bengal Sultans (1–2); Coins of Vāsudeva (3) imitating Shapur I's Crown (4–5).



A Silver Coin of Kshatrapa Rudrasimha II (1); Seal of Raṇaka Bālakesarin (2); A Silver doublē tanka of Baz Bahadur (3); Barid Shāhī Coins (4–7); A Copper coin of Murtaza Nizam Shah II (8); Copper coins of Imad Shahi Dynasty of Berar (9–10).



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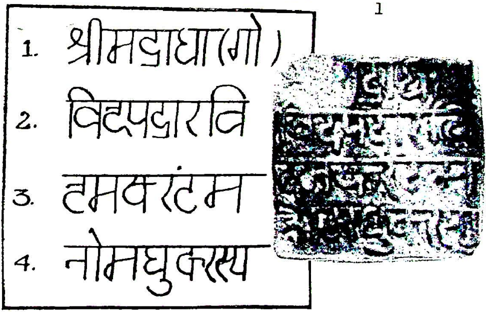

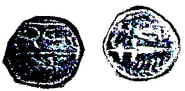

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A Silver Coin from Manipur and its inscription (1); A Copper Paisa of Dungarpur State (2); A token in the style of East India Company coins (3).

The

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